

NYU-BOBST



31142 02831 5995

P945 .T54 1999

Principles of the Relationship

COUNSELING MONODRAMAS

Principles of the Relationship

between Laurel Aslett, M.A.

and Southeastern Publishing Institute

K. A. Tjebbes

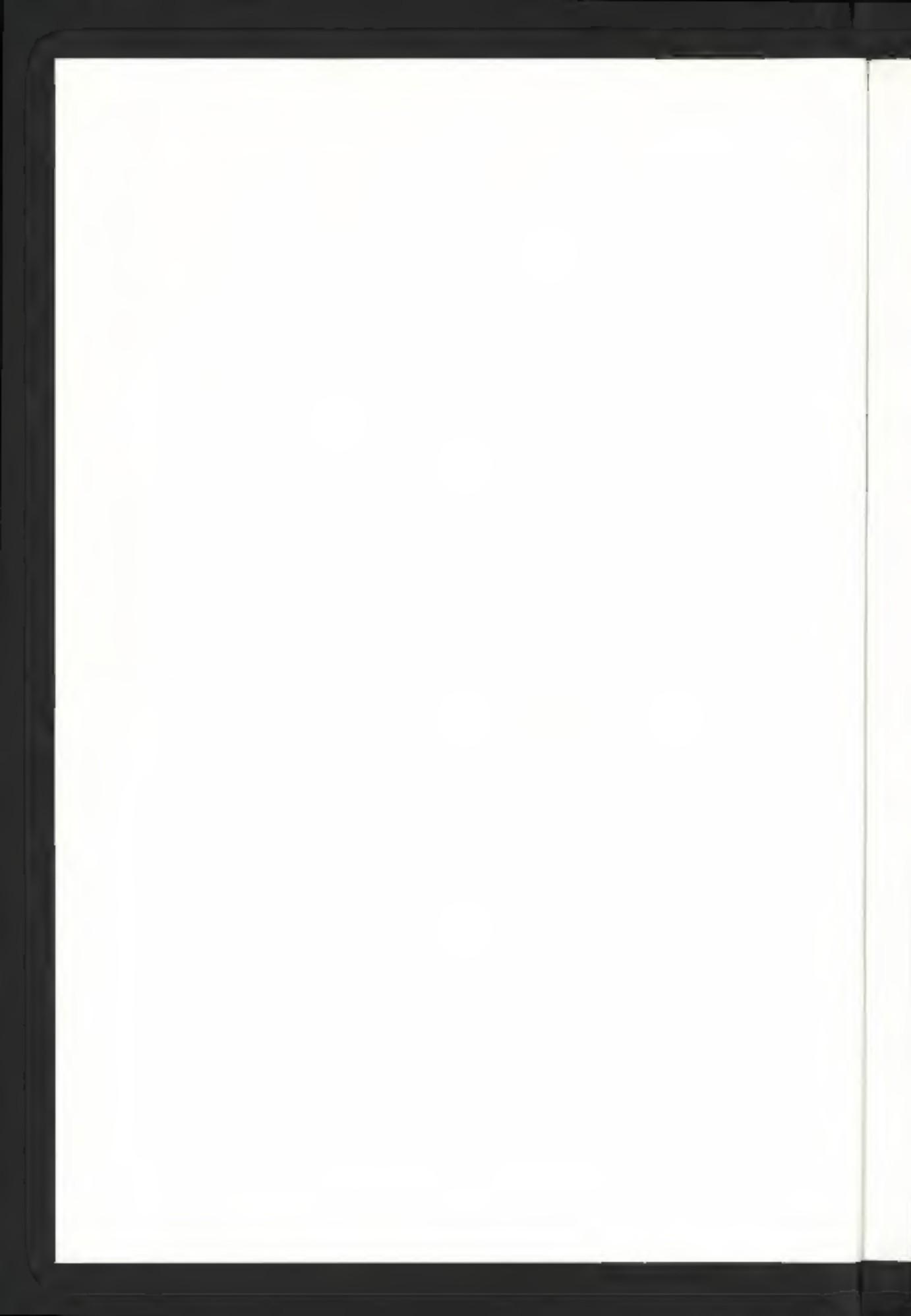


SIYX
PUBLICATIONS



Elmer Holmes
Bobst Library
New York
University





**Principles of the Relation
between Local Adverb, Verb
and Sentence Particle in Hittite**

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 15

Edited by

T. Abusch, M. J. Geller, Th. P. J. van den Hout
S. M. Maul and F. A. M. Wiggermann

STYX
PUBLICATIONS
GRONINGEN
1999

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 15

**Principles of the Relation
between Local Adverb, Verb
and Sentence Particle in Hittite**

F. A. Tjerkstra



STYX
PUBLICATIONS
GRONINGEN
1999



Contents

Foreword	xii
CHAPTER 1. The problem of the local adverb in Hittite	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Status quaestionis	2
1.1.1 Previous studies of the local adverbs	2
1.1.2 Previous studies of the sentence particles	10
1.2 Local adverbs and verbal valency	13
1.3 Syntactic and semantic functions on sentence level	19
1.4 Layout of chapters 2–5	20
1.5 Examples from Hittite texts	21
CHAPTER 2. The deponent <i>ijs-</i> “to march, to be on one’s way”	23
2.0 Introduction	23
2.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs	24
2.1.1 <i>ijs-</i> + Subject	24
2.1.2 <i>ijs-</i> + Subject + expression of Direction	25
2.1.3 <i>ijs-</i> + internal Object	26
2.1.4 Use of sentence particles in sentences without local adverbs	27
2.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate <i>ijs-</i>	28
2.2.1 <i>anda ijs-</i>	28
2.2.2 <i>arha ijs-</i>	29
2.2.3 <i>katta ijs-</i>	30
2.2.4 <i>kattan ijs-</i>	30
2.2.5 <i>kattanda ijs-</i>	31
2.2.6 <i>šarā ijs-</i>	31
2.2.7 <i>parā ijs-</i>	32
2.2.8 <i>âppa ijs-</i>	33
2.2.9 <i>âppan ijs-</i>	33
2.2.10 <i>ištarna ijs-</i>	34
2.2.11 <i>ištarna arha ijs-</i>	34
2.2.12 <i>šer arha ijs-</i>	35
2.2.13 <i>arha ijs-</i> + <i>andan ijs-</i>	36
2.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate <i>ijs-</i>	36
2.3.1 <i>arha + ijs-</i>	36
2.3.2 <i>kattan + ijs-</i>	37
2.3.3 <i>peran + ijs-</i>	37
2.3.4 <i>âppa + ijs-</i>	38
2.3.5 <i>âppan + ijs-</i>	38
2.3.6 <i>âppanda + ijs-</i>	39
2.3.7 <i>andurza + ijs-</i> and <i>tapuša + ijs-</i>	39
2.4 Problematic or unclear instances	39

2.4.1 <i>andan</i> (+) <i>iŋa</i>	39
2.4.2 <i>parijan</i> <i>iŋa</i> -	40
2.4.3 <i>peran</i> (+) <i>äppa</i> <i>iŋa</i> -	40
2.4.4 <i>äppa</i> + <i>šarä</i> <i>iŋa</i> -	40
2.5 Summary	40
CHAPTER 3. The verbs <i>pai-</i> "to go" and <i>uya-</i> "to come"	45
3.0 Introduction	45
3.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs	46
3.1.1 <i>pai-</i> and <i>uya-</i> + Subject + expression of Direction	46
3.1.2 <i>uya-</i> + Subject + expression of Origin	48
3.1.3 <i>pai-</i> + Subject	49
3.1.4 <i>pai-</i> and <i>uya-</i> + internal Object	50
3.1.5 Use of sentence particles in sentences without local adverbs	50
3.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate <i>pai-</i> and <i>uya-</i>	52
3.2.1 <i>anda</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>anda</i> <i>uya-</i>	52
3.2.2 <i>andam</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>andam</i> <i>uya-</i>	54
3.2.3 <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>arhä</i> <i>uya-</i>	56
3.2.4 <i>katta</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>katta</i> <i>uya-</i>	59
3.2.5 <i>kattan</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>kattan</i> <i>uya-</i>	61
3.2.6 <i>kattanda</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>kattanda</i> <i>uya-</i>	62
3.2.7 <i>šarä</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>šarä</i> <i>uya-</i>	63
3.2.8 <i>parä</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>parä</i> <i>uya-</i>	64
3.2.9 <i>äppan</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>äppan</i> <i>uya-</i>	66
3.2.10 <i>äppan</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>äppan</i> <i>uya-</i>	67
3.2.11 <i>äppanda</i> <i>pai-</i> (<i>äppan</i> (-) <i>enda</i> <i>pai-</i>) and <i>äppanda</i> <i>uya-</i>	68
3.2.12 <i>ištarna</i> <i>pai-</i>	69
3.2.13 <i>menahhända</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>menahhända</i> <i>uya-</i>	69
3.2.14 <i>parranda</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>parranda</i> <i>uya-</i>	70
3.2.15 <i>parijan</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>parijan</i> <i>uya-</i>	71
3.2.16 <i>ayan</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>ayan</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>uya-</i>	72
3.2.17 <i>kattan</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>kattan</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>uya-</i>	73
3.2.18 <i>peran</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>peran</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>uya-</i>	73
3.2.19 <i>äppan</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i>	74
3.2.20 <i>ištarna</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>ištarna</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>uya-</i>	74
3.2.21 <i>šer</i> <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i>	75
3.2.22 <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i> + <i>andan</i> <i>pai-</i>	75
3.2.23 <i>arhä</i> <i>uya-</i> + <i>äppa</i> <i>uya-</i>	76
3.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate	76
3.3.1 <i>anda</i> + <i>pai-</i>	76
3.3.2 <i>kattan</i> + <i>pai-</i> and <i>uya-</i>	77
3.3.3 <i>šer</i> + <i>arhä</i> <i>pai-</i>	77
3.3.4 <i>ištarna</i> + <i>pai-</i>	77
3.3.5 <i>peran</i> <i>parä</i> + <i>pai-</i> and <i>anda</i> <i>pai-</i>	78
3.4 Problematic and unclear instances	78

3.4.1 <i>arahza</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>arahza</i> <i>uya-</i>	78
3.4.2 <i>peran</i> (+) <i>pai-</i>	79
3.4.3 <i>äppa</i> (+) <i>uya-</i>	80
3.4.4 <i>äppanda</i> (+) <i>uya-</i>	81
3.4.5 <i>iltarna</i> (+) <i>uya-</i>	81
3.4.6 <i>tapusa</i> <i>pai-</i> and <i>tapusa</i> <i>uya-</i>	81
3.4.7 <i>peran</i> and other local adverbs with <i>pai-</i> and <i>uya-</i>	82
3.4.8 <i>äppa</i> and other local adverbs with <i>pai-</i> and <i>uya-</i>	84
3.4.9 <i>äppan</i> and other local adverbs with <i>pai-</i> and <i>uya-</i>	86
3.5 Summary	87
 Chapter 4. The verb <i>dā-</i>, "to take, to fetch"	95
4.0 Introduction	95
4.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs	95
4.1.1 <i>dā-</i> + Subject and Object	95
4.1.2 -<i>z</i><i>u dā-</i>	97
4.1.2.1 Lexical use of -<i>z</i><i>u dā-</i> + Subject and Object	97
4.1.2.2 <i>dā-</i> + Subject + inanimate Object and reflexive particle -<i>za</i> "■ take (for oneself)"	97
4.1.3 <i>dā-</i> + Subject + Object + Indirect Object	100
4.1.4 <i>dā-</i> + Subject + Object + expression of Origin	102
4.1.5 <i>dā-</i> with Indirect Object and Origin expression in partitive apposition	102
4.1.6 Use of sentence particles in sentences without local adverbs	103
4.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging ■ the predicate <i>dā-</i>	107
4.2.1 <i>anda dā-</i>	107
4.2.2 <i>arha dā-</i>	109
4.2.3 <i>katta dā-</i>	111
4.2.4 <i>šarā dā-</i>	111
4.2.5 -<i>z</i><i>u šer dā-</i>	114
4.2.6 <i>parā dā-</i>	115
4.2.7 <i>äppa dā-</i>	117
4.2.8 <i>ayun arha dā-</i>	118
4.2.9 <i>kutun arha dā-</i>	119
4.2.10 <i>peran arha dā-</i>	119
4.2.11 <i>šer arha dā-</i>	120
4.2.12 <i>äppa šarā dā-</i>	121
4.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate	121
4.3.1 <i>kattan + dā-</i>	121
4.3.2 <i>peran + šarā dā-</i>	122
4.3.3 <i>šer + dā-</i>	122
4.3.4 <i>äppa + arha dā-</i>	122
4.3.5 <i>äppan + dā-</i> and <i>šarā dā-</i>	123
4.3.6 <i>menaljynda + šarā dā-</i>	124
4.4 Problematic or unclear instances	124
4.4.1 <i>anda (+) dā-</i>	124
4.4.2 <i>peran (+) dā-</i>	125

4.4.3 <i>haššan peran</i> (+) <i>dā-</i> , <i>haššan āppan</i> (+) <i>dā-</i> , <i>haššan āppan</i> (+) <i>arha dā-</i>	125 126
4.4.4 <i>anahi peran</i> (+) <i>arha dā-</i>	126
4.5 Summary	127
 Chapter 5. The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle	 131
5.0 Introduction	131
5.1 Local adverbs with the sample verbs of ch. 2–4	131
5.2 The function of local adverbs in Old Hittite	140
5.3 The relation between local adverb, verb and sentence particle in Middle and New Hittite: Completion of the main results of § 5.1	147
5.4 Position of local adverbs in the sentence	158
5.4.1 <i>Situation in Old Hittite</i>	159
5.4.2 <i>The situation in Middle and New Hittite</i>	165
5.5 A comparable problem in Homeric Greek	175
 Bibliography	 179
 Index of cited texts	 191

Foreword

Like many others I discovered Hittitology while studying Greek and Latin, which have remained a passion for me ever since. Professor C. J. Ruigh first awoke my interest in linguistics, and it is a source of satisfaction for me that in one section of this book I briefly return from my wanderings in Hittite to his beloved field of Greek grammar. In 1985 I was introduced to the Hittite language by Dr. J. de Roos, whose classes were supplemented one year later by the lectures of Professor H. J. Houwink ten Cate. In January of 1989, I started a PhD project with him about Middle Hittite Grammar, enabled to do so through a job as *assistant en opleiding* in our Faculty. Especially during my work on Middle Hittite syntax, I was faced time and again by the problem of the function of local adverbs, which far transcends the boundaries of the corpus which I was working on at the time. The puzzlement which took hold of me finally led to a change of subject of my PhD research, allowing me to concentrate all my efforts on the solution of this problem.

My 1993 journey to Chicago greatly furthered the progress of my work. It was helped by subventions of NWO and the Faculty of Languages and Literatures of the University of Amsterdam, and by the willingness of the school where I teach Greek and Latin, *De Nieuwe School* in Amsterdam, to give me paid leave for two weeks. Professor Harry Hoffner allowed me to use the files of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary and put concept versions of a number of entries of the Dictionary at my disposal, while of the staff of the Dictionary Richard Beal and Billy Jean Collins were especially helpful. I completed the manuscript as a guest researcher in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, where Professor Th. P. J. van den Hout shared his room, experience and advice with me. On 7 October 1996 I received the degree of PhD. Preparing the manuscript for publication took some time, especially since our youngest son Rolf was born in January 1997.

A number of new publications came to my attention while the book was being prepared for the press, and could not be incorporated any more, such as Harry Hoffner's new edition of the Hittite Laws (published by Brill: Leiden 1997), Gary Beckman's translation of a large group of Hittite diplomatic texts (published by Scholars Press: Atlanta, Georgia, 1996), and the third fascicle of the P volume of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary.

Among the many persons to whom I feel grateful, I want to single out some for their personal support and assistance. Philo Houwink ten Cate for his patience, support and confidence in the outcome, his wife Annemie for her warm personal interest, Han de Roos for introducing me to the wonders of Hittite, Theo van den Hout for his continuous support and practical advice. I also want to thank the members of my PhD committee, all of whom gave numerous suggestions for greater and smaller improvements at some time during my work; I am especially grateful for Professor Harry Hoffner's close reading of the manuscript and many useful suggestions. Rodie Risselada provided me with useful comments about linguistic matters. Outside of the sphere of Hittite studies, I want to mention Nanda Piersma, the loyal companion of my study and beginning PhD days.

and Zoë Graeter of Gunters (Switzerland), with whom I found refuge many times when my work did not proceed the way I wanted it. Finally I want to thank my parents, my husband Jan-Wim, my late sister's children Joram, Nanja and Joëlle and our sons Carel and Rolf, who together created the happy atmosphere in which I could finish this book.

CHAPTER 1

The problem of the local adverb in Hittite

1.0 Introduction

The problem of the nature and the function of the so-called local adverbs in Hittite has occupied the attention of Hittitologists from the outset of this discipline of cuneiform studies, but the issue has hitherto not been adequately solved. In Hittite linguistics the terms local adverbs and *Ortsadverbien* are used to refer to a group of words that frequently appear in Hittite sentences in various positions, now immediately in front of the verb, then directly following an inflected noun in an oblique case, then again at the beginning of the clause. Although a more neutral term like particle would better cover the wide variety of functions these words may have in the sentence, the conventional term local adverbs will be employed in this study as a general designation of this group of words, in spite of the fact that their function is not exclusively local or adverbial. The term particle will be reserved for the enclitic particles *-an*, *-(a)pa*, *-(a)sita*, *-ku* and *-ku*, further defined below, whose relation with the local adverbs is the subject of this study.

The traditional approach to the problem of the local adverbs was aimed at describing their function as "preverb", "postposition" or "pure adverb" according to their position in the sentence (§ 1.1.1). The following words belong to this category:¹

<i>anda</i> , <i>andau</i> , "into, in"	<i>katta</i> , <i>kattan</i> , <i>kattandu</i> , "down, downwards"
<i>andurzu</i> , "inside"	<i>menahhanda</i> , "to, towards"
<i>appa</i> , <i>appan</i> , "again, back, behind"	<i>parā</i> , "out of, forth", <i>peran</i> , "in front of" ²
<i>appanda</i> (<i>appananda</i>), "behind, after"	<i>parijan</i> , "across, over"
<i>aralzu</i> , "outside", <i>arakzando</i> , "around"	<i>parrunda</i> , "across, over"
<i>urha</i> , "away"	<i>širū</i> , <i>ter</i> , "up, upwards, on top"
[<i>ayān</i> , "away", only with other local adverbs]	<i>tapuša</i> , "to the side, sideways"
<i>istarna</i> , "in between, in the middle"	<i>tapušza</i> , "on the side, next to"

In this study it will be argued that the relation of the local adverb with the verb, or predicate, is crucial to the understanding of its function within the sentence. On the basis of their relation with the predicate, local adverbs can be divided into two groups, viz local adverbs that belong to the predicate and those that are independent of it. The local adverbs in the first group can be shown to influence the meaning or construction of the predicate and to form a unity with it, which will be called a derived predicate. The local adverbs making up the second group have no such influence on the predicate and are optional elements of the sentence (§ 1.2).

¹ The translations given here are only approximate, as many local adverbs can have various shades of meaning, depending on the grammatical context, as will be demonstrated below.

² The plene spelling *pe-e-ru-an* found in contemporary and later copies of Old Hittite originals indicates that the vowel intended by the spelling *Pi-ra-an* is really *i* and not *ii*. See Neu (1974a: 38 + n. 6 and 11).

Chapter I

The function of the local adverbs will be studied also in relation to the presence of five enclitic particles, -*an*, -(*a*)*pa*, -(*a*)*štu*, -*kan* and -*šan*, known to Hittitologists as "sentence particles" or "local particles" ("Ortspartikeln"). In this book the view will be defended that these particles refer to the sentence as a whole, that is first and foremost the verb as its central element, rather than to individual elements of the sentence. In order to emphasize this relation with the verb the term "sentence particles" will be used, also because the term "local particles" implies at the outset taking a position in the debate about the "local" or the "aspectual" interpretation of these particles (§ 1.1.2). The division of the local adverbs into a dependent and an independent group also throws new light on the relation between local adverb and sentence particle. We will see that in many cases the presence of a sentence particle is the direct result of the addition of a local adverb from the first group to a verb that would otherwise not be accompanied by a sentence particle. These observations enable us to reformulate the relation between local adverb, sentence particle and verb in Hittite sentences.

An attempt will be made to prove this thesis by induction. Four sample verbs will be described in their use with and without local adverbs and sentence particles as they appear in texts of all genres and of all periods of the Hittite language. Three of these are verbs of motion that on the basis of their syntactic constructions can be divided into two groups, each treated in a separate chapter: *na-* "to be on one's way, to (be on the) march" (ch. 2), *par-* "to go", and *uya-* "to come" (ch. 3). The fact that these verbs belong to the same semantic field enables us to compare them and define which uses and constructions of the verb and which functions of the local adverbs are typical of the individual verb and which follow a more general pattern. In order to verify and complete the results obtained with the verbs of motion, a different type of verb will be dealt with in chapter 4, namely *dū-* "to take, to fetch", governing sentence structures that are not found with the verbs described in chapter 2-3. Each of these chapters is set up according to a fixed scheme, which is described in § 1.4.

In chapter 5 the results of chapters 2-4 will be compared, the position of local adverbs in the sentence will be described and some general conclusions will be drawn with regard to the interaction of verb, local adverb and sentence particle. In the last section of this chapter the situation with the local adverbs in Hittite will be compared with that of the particles in Homeric Greek. The traditional division of these particles into preverb, preposition and adverb proved as problematic as that of the Hittite local adverbs into preverb, postposition and adverb, and the solutions proposed for this problem provide a nice parallel for the approach to the Hittite situation which is advocated here.

1.1 Status quaestionis

1.1.1 Previous studies of the local adverbs

In his pioneering grammar of the Hittite language, Hrozný (1917: 180-185) described the local adverbs with the general term "Adverbien" and listed them along with particles, conjunctions and other adverbs in chapter 4, "Die wichtigsten Adverbien, Präpositionen und Partikeln". When in 1936 Zuntz published her *Inaugural-Dissertation* about "Die hethitischen Ortsadverbien *urha*, *parā*, *piran*", a few attempts had been made by other

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

scholars to further specify the function of the local adverbs, and the terms "postposition" and "preverb" had made their way into Hittite linguistics.³ Zuntz (1936: 8) was the first to attempt a systematic division of the use of the local adverbs into the three syntactic categories of "adverb", "preverb" and "postposition", on the basis of the formal criterion of their position in the sentence. In her own words:

"Ich nenne ein Ortsadverb

I. selbständiges Adverb,

- a) wo es das Prädikat eines Satzes bildet.
- b) wo das enkl. Poss.-Pron. als Suffix mit ihm verbunden auftritt.
- c) wo es vom Verbum getrennt, an erster Stelle im Satze oder direkt hinter der satzeinleitenden Partikel steht.

II. Postposition.

wo es hinter einem Nomen mit "regiertem" Cas. obl. steht.

III. Präverb,

wo es vor einer Verbalform steht."

A conspicuous disadvantage of Zuntz's method of approach is that it cannot be used in the numerous cases where the local adverb is found between an inflected noun and the verb, as in the following example:

(1-NS) ⁴	<i>n-ašta GAL DUMU-É-GAL II NINDA.GUR₁.RA ^GIS-BANSUR-az arha dāi</i> "The chief of palace attendants takes two thick breads away from the table." KUB II 13 I 59-60 (CTH 591.5A)
---------------------	---

In this position, for which Zuntz (1936: 9) used the term "*Mittelstellung*", the local adverb *arha* "away" can be called a postposition, since it immediately follows the ablative ^GIS-BANSUR-az "from the table", but with the same right it could be dubbed a preverb, since it precedes the verb *dāi* "to take, to fetch". Zuntz's solution for this dilemma was to consider *arha* and *parā* in all cases of *Mittelstellung* as a preverb and *peran* in the same position always as a postposition. She justified this choice by pointing out that example (1-NS) can be compared with example (2-NS) below, where the same expression is found with a different word order and where *arha* is not in *Mittelstellung*:

(2-NS)	<i>n-ašta DUMU É-GAL ^GIS-DAG-az ^GIS-kalmaš ^GIS-SUKUR₁.HI.É-A^G arha dāi</i> "The palace attendant takes the liraus (and) the spears away from the throne." KUB X 18 VI 6-8 (CTH 594.1A)
--------	--

³ See for instance the contributions by Forrer (1922), Delaporte (1929) and Sturtevant (1933) as discussed by Zuntz (1936: 7-8).

⁴ Example (1-NS) will be discussed in § 4.2.2, where it is cited as 1177-NS). The abbreviations in the numbering of the examples are explained in § 1.5.

Chapter I

Since the Object ^{G13}kalmuš^{G13} ŠUKUR.MA "the *litus* (and) the spears" is placed between *arha* and the ablative ^{G15}DAG-az, the local adverb *arha*, in her opinion, cannot belong to the oblique case form, but must in this example, and for that reason apparently also in other instances of *Mittelstellung* of *arha* with this verb and others, be a preverb belonging to the verb. For *peran* a similar comparison is made to show that *peran* in this ambiguous position is to be interpreted as a postposition.⁵

Another problem is presented by those cases in which a local adverb is in sentence initial position. According to Zuntz's definitions a focal adverb at the beginning of the sentence and separated from the verb would be an adverb (1c). In her conclusions, however, she suggested that in cases where they form "eine begriffliche Einheit", they are rather to be interpreted as preverbs in "*Sperrstellung*" or "*Tmesis*" (1936: 118–119).

In a 1963 article Goetze concerned himself with the question under what conditions a local adverb can be classified as preverb, postposition or adverb, especially in the case of *Mittelstellung*. In order to decide about the function of a local adverb in this position one has to determine whether it is in "nexus" with (i.e. belongs to) the verb, and thus a preverb, or with the "directional case" and therewith a postposition.⁶ When the local adverb can be separated from the verb or directional case by a constituent with the function Subject or Object, there is apparently no nexus and the local adverb does not belong to the verb or the directional case in question. When dealing with the word order directional case – local adverb – verb, one has to look for additional examples in which a Subject or an Object is inserted in the decisive spot. In fact, the same reasoning was followed by Zuntz, albeit only once, with regard to *arha* in (1-NS) and (2-NS). Unfortunately, there are many occurrences of *Mittelstellung* in which no comparable examples can be found which have a different word order. Also, Goetze does not specify what he considered suitable examples to use as comparable evidence: all examples of the same construction of local adverb and verb, or only those with the same meaning? The following example is cited by Goetze as evidence for *parā* as a postposition, since the Subject is inserted between *parā* and the verb *amija*: "to make, to draw up, to copy":⁷

(3-MH+)	<i>kīs maškan tuppi ANA UTR^{G13}XAKU-U-az parā</i> ^{G15} GIDRU. DINGIR ¹⁴¹ .
	<i>if amija</i> "Hanušiliš wrote down this tablet from the mouth of His Majesty."

KUB XV 31 IV 38'–40' (CTH 484.1A) ed. Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 170–171, 179)

As mentioned in the CHD (P/2: 117–118), the expression ANA UTR^{G13}iišaz (KA-U-az) *parā amija*, "to write down from the mouth of His Majesty" is attested in other colophon texts with a different word order, for instance:

⁵ The fact that *peran* in *Mittelstellung* is always a postposition is, according to Zuntz (1936: 9), indicated by the fact that the same expression can be found with *peran* and with *PAN!*: In KUB IX 16 1 13–14 (CTH 626.11A) one finds *nu [harpuš]* ID-i-son *peran haquaci* "They pile up the heaps in front of the river" and in KUB X 48 18–19 (CTH 626.11B) *muškan SA LUMES* "U [harpuš] JANA ^{G13}Nirjanta *PANI* ID *harpanci* "The heaps of the men of the Storm god [] they pile up in Nirjanta, in front of the river". Both examples are also discussed by Siegelová (1971: 76).

⁶ The term "directional case" is used by Goetze to denote an inflected nominal form (that can be) governed by a local adverb.

⁷ My proposal for the interpretation of (3-MH+), (4-MH) and (5-MH) can be found in § 5.4.2.

⁸ See the treatment of this instance in § 5.4.2.

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

- (4-MH) ANA ⁴UTU^{št} -i-ja=a-t=kan INA ¹⁸Zi-thara iNA BURU_{1,2} KA x-U-a_t parā
an-i-jay-en "and from His Majesty's mouth we wrote it down in the city
Zithara, in harvest time."
KUB XXIX 8 IV 38-39 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 100)
- (5-MH) [ANA ⁴UTU^{št}] -i-ja=a-t=kun KA x-U-a_t INA ¹⁸Zi-thar]a [iNA BURU_{1,2}] p]arā
an-i-jay-en "and from the mouth of His Majesty we wrote it down in the
city Zithara, in harvest time."
KBo XXIII 6+ FHG 20 (IV) 9-10 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 65)

These examples demonstrate that with this method two different conclusions can be drawn about the function of *parā* in one and the same expression. In (3-MH) *parā* is a postposition and in (5-MH) a preverb. With regard to a similar case of an expression attested with various patterns of word order, Goetze remarked that, in an inflected language like Hittite, with a relatively free word order, "it is not surprising that in numerous cases variants occur which, extremely similar to another, seem to contain preverbs here but postpositions there".⁹ In this observation he added the following conclusion: "looking for the common denominator under which all these uses may be subsumed we might say: the local adverb is attached, either enclitically or proclitically, to that element of the sentence which is to be emphasized (1963: 100)." If the difference between preverb and postposition is a matter of emphasis only, the problem of the function of *parā* in (4-MH) is, in my opinion, unsolvable, since the function of the local adverb can be different in any other instance of the same expression. If, on the other hand, the terms preverb and postposition indicate a different function in the sentence, examples like the ones above with *parā anija-*, show that this difference cannot be determined on the basis of word order.¹⁰ Goetze is right that in these cases of variable word order stylistic (or pragmatic) factors play an important role.¹¹

Zuntz's classification scheme was later adopted by Kammenhuber (1973: 143), who redefined the categories adverb (I) and preverb (III) as follows:

- "Adverb: 1. Oberbegriff für Adverb, Postposition, Präverb; daher auch bei Unge-
deutetem gebraucht;
2. Ohne Bezugswort in dem betr. Satz (das Bezugswort kann im voraus-
gehenden Satz stehen);

Präverb: + Verb – ohne Rücksicht auf die Stellung im Satz."

In this scheme Kammenhuber made allowance for the fact that a local adverb in sentence initial position can be a preverb, but the problem of *Mittelstellung* is not removed by her modifications. This scheme does not inform us on what grounds a local adverb is to be defined as belonging to the verb (preverb), if it is not its position in front of the verb.

⁹ Cf. the remark in the CHII (P2: 118) that "in the many cases where the order is abl. – *parā* – verb, a decision between preverb or postposition for *parā* is impossible and unnecessary".

¹⁰ See the discussion of these instances in § 5.4.2.

Chapter I

These attempts to attribute different functions to the local adverbs according to their position in the sentence were sharply criticized by Starke (1977: 127–131) in his systematic and comprehensive study of the function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite. This book is a turning point in the description of the function of local adverbs, since it is the first to define the role of local adverbs in terms of their relation with the verb. Starke concluded that previous studies had failed to produce proof for the existence of preverbs and postpositions in Hittite and postulated that Hittite only had the category adverb. Starke's line of thought about the function of the local adverbs can be summarized as follows (1977: 131–200):¹¹ Other scholars, to wit Larochie (1970: 35–45) and Neu (1974a: 67–69), demonstrated that the local adverbs are in origin nouns. On the basis of their form they can be divided into five groups, each ending representing a different case form:¹²

Ending:	Case form:
(I) -a (<i>anda</i> , <i>appa</i> etc.)	"allative"
(II) -n (<i>andan</i> , <i>appan</i> etc.)	"accusative"
(III) -i (<i>tarni</i> etc., <i>katti</i> etc.)	"locative"
(IV) -za (<i>tarazza</i> , <i>tapuzza</i>)	"ablative"
(V) without ending (<i>ser</i>)	"endungslose Lokativ"

(Table 1.1 Division of local adverbs according to ending, by Starke (1977: 132).)

Most of the local adverbs ending in -a (group I) correspond with a local adverb with the ending -n (group II), which is formed with the same stem, as illustrated in table 1.2:

Group I:	Group II:
<i>anda</i>	<i>andian</i>
<i>appa</i>	<i>appan</i>
<i>katta</i>	<i>kattan</i>
<i>parā</i>	<i>peran</i>
<i>šari</i>	<i>ser</i> ¹³

(Table 1.2. Two groups of corresponding local adverbs, by Starke (1977: 133).)

¹¹ Starke's treatment of the local adverbs in Old Hittite will be described here without further comment. My own, in some aspects dissenting, opinion about the function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite can be found in § 5.2.

¹² Of the local adverbs listed in § 1.0 the following do not fall into these five categories: *appanda*, *appananda*, *arayzanda*, *menahanda*, *parranda*, *parjan*. For remarks about the form of *appanda* and *appananda* see Osten and Sooček (1969: 93–94); for *arayzanda* and *menahanda* see Larochie (1970: 37–38). It should be remarked that *yan* is not a local adverb in its own right and is never used independently, but only in combination with the local adverbs *urka*, *katta* and *šari*, see Kammerhuber (HW¹, A: 635–636) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. I: 245).

¹³ This local adverb is in origin a different case form (table 1.1), but shares all properties of the local adverbs in this group.

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

Starke was able to show that in Old Hittite the local adverbs of group I had a different function from those of group II and that the members of each of these groups shared a number of common features that set them apart from those of the other group.¹² When a local adverb of group I occurs with a dative or allative in the same sentence, the local adverb is always in front of this case form, as for instance in *anda purna* "into the house".¹³ According to Starke these local adverbs ending in -a do not just originate from nouns in the allative, but in Old Hittite still behave like nouns in the allative case (1977: 149): "Es wäre eigentlich wörtlich zu übersetzen: *anda* "ins Innere", *appa* "zur Rück-/Hinter(seite)", *katta* "zur Unterteile)", *paru* "zur Vorder(seite)", *sard* "zur Ober(seite)".¹⁴ As nouns in the allative they are in apposition with the dative or allative, which they mostly precede. Though the local adverbs of group II do not all have a locative ending, they do, according to Starke, function in the same way as nouns in the locative. Before dealing with the function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite, Starke gave a convincing description of the function of the "*dimensionale Kasus*" in Old Hittite (i.e. allative, locative, ablative, instrumental and dative) and reached the important conclusion that with animate nouns the dative fulfills the function that the allative, locative and ablative have with inanimate nouns.¹⁵ In his opinion, nouns in the allative (*a*-case) are only found with "*direktivische Verben*" and are therefore always dependent on the verb, and nouns in the locative are always independent of the verb, or in his own terminology the allative and the locative take "semantisch eine Zentral- bzw. Randposition im syntaktischen Feld des Satzes" (1977: 131). In accordance with their function as nouns in the allative or locative, Starke considers all local adverbs of group I as dependent on the verb and all local adverbs of group II as independent of the verb, regardless of the meaning or construction of that particular verb (1977: 166–167).

In contrast with the local adverbs of group I, those belonging to group II can:

- (1) be placed before a noun in the locative, e.g. *andam E-ri* "in the house";
- (2) be placed behind a noun in the locative or dative, e.g. *E-ri-andan* "in the house" and *LUGAL-i peran* "in front of the king";
- (3) be constructed with a (preceding) noun in the genitive, e.g. *LUGAL-gaš peran* "in front of the king";
- (4) be constructed with an enclitic possessive pronoun, e.g. *pera(n)s munit* "in front of me".

When the local adverb precedes the noun in the locative (1), Starke (1977: 172–173) interprets the construction in conformity with the construction of a local adverb of

¹² The use of the local adverb *kuru* in Old Hittite texts does not completely fit into this scheme; see § 5.3.

¹³ Following the CHD (L N: xii–xiii), the Old Hittite *a*-case has been called "allative" in preference to the term "Terminativ" used by Starke (1977: 23).

¹⁴ Starke suggested that his conclusions about the nominal character of the local adverb do not only apply to the Old Hittite situation, but are also valid in later Hittite (1977: 151, 177).

¹⁵ The terms *animate noun* and *inanimate noun* are used here in the sense of nouns indicating living beings and inanimate entities respectively and correspond with Starke's distinction of nouns belonging to the "Personenklasse" and those of the "Sachklasse". Note that Starke already established that nouns designating animals belong to the "Personenklasse" as well (1977: 100). Weisberg (1987: 219–220) rightly stressed that Starke's classes are semantic categories and do not overlap with the two gender classes *neuterum* and *neuterum*. Neuter nouns still belong to the "Sachklasse", but, as already noted by Starke himself (1977: 43), words of common gender may belong either to the "Sachklasse" or to the "Personenklasse". For the terms Old Hittite, Middle Hittite and the dating of texts see § 1.5.

Chapter I

group I with a noun in the allative (*andā parna*), as two locatives in apposition. In the example *andā E-ri* the first noun (*andā*) denotes the general location as "inside" and the second (*E-ri*) specifies it as "in the house".

Regarding construction (2) and (3), Starke (1977: 173–176) argued that, since these two constructions could replace each other in Old Hittite, they must have had the same function. The only construction that can replace the construction with a genitive attribute is that of the "partitive apposition", so construction (2) is likely to be a "partitive apposition". When two nouns are in partitive apposition, the first noun (e.g. *LUGAL-i*) indicates the whole and the second (e.g. *peran*) the part. As was demonstrated in a joint article by Carruba, Souček and Sternemann (1965: 14–15) the partitive apposition becomes increasingly popular from Middle Hittite onwards. The reason that the construction with the genitive case is more frequent than the one with the preceding dative or locative is, according to Starke (1977: 175–176), to be found in the fact that the partitive apposition was not frequently used in Old Hittite and does not necessarily prove Neu's (1974a: 68–69) view that the construction with the genitive case (*LUGAL-yaš peran*) is older and was gradually replaced by the one with the dative or locative (*LUGAL-i peran*).¹⁸ Starke rejected Neu's explanation that this change was caused by the fact that "der ehemalige Substantivcharakter von *peran* oder *āppan* im Bewußtsein des Sprechers immer mehr verloren ging (...) so wurde aus *LUGAL-yaš peran*, das wörtlich mit '(zur) Vorder(seite) des Königs (hin)' zu übersetzen wäre, ein neues syntagma: *LUGAL-i peran* (wörtlich 'beim König vorne')". Neu (1980b: 23 n. 48) in his turn criticized Starke's idea that *LUGAL-i peran* is a partitive apposition by stating that a partitive apposition with *LUGAL* and *peran* would be of the form "*LUGAL-jaš peran*", since *peran* is an accusative case in form, although a locative in function.¹⁹

The function of the other local adverbs that occur in Old Hittite texts, but do not belong to group I and II was treated by Starke in separate paragraphs. In his view *arha-*, which is rare in Old Hittite texts, does not belong in the category of Old Hittite local adverbs, but simply is the allative of the noun *arha-* meaning "to the border" (1977: 134). To *āppanda* / *āppananda*, *ištama* / *ištarni-* and *menalghanda* he attributed a locative function, but regarded the Old Hittite evidence for *arha-*, *tapuša* and *tapušca* as too limited to define their function with any certainty (1977: 188–200).

In a review of Starke's book, Josephson (1981: 101–103) made the important observation that a local adverb can be called a preverb if it changes the meaning of the verb and concluded that in Old Hittite one can already observe "*Präverbien in nascendo*". He also suggested that in examples like *LUGAL-i peran huyai-* "to walk in front of the king" (construction 2) we may have a postposition in *nascendo*.

Boley (1985) wrote an article about the syntax of the Hittite Place Words (=local adverbs) from Old Hittite to New Hittite.²⁰ She rejected Starke's theory that the local adverbs are nominal in character, among others objecting to it that it is typologically untenable "and not consonant with Indo-European patterns, from which the Hittite usage

¹⁸ Starke does not admit that the construction with the genitive case is more frequent in Old Hittite and is completely replaced by the construction with dative or locative in Middle and New Hittite (1977: 176).

¹⁹ This criticism is shared by Josephson (1981: 103).

²⁰ In general, I agree with her conclusions about the change in the position of local adverbs in Middle Hittite, their growing tendency to coalesce with the verb and the merging in function between local adverbs ending in -a and -n, but arguments are often lacking and her line of thought is hard to follow.

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

must, at least in part, derive" (1985: 7-8). About the position in the sentence she seems on the whole to agree with Starke, although she remarked that "motion place words" (= local adverbs of Starke's group I) now and then follow instead of precede a noun in the allative or dative in Old Hittite.²¹ Starke's concepts of "Zentral-" and "Randposition" are adopted by Boley, but she rightly noticed that "stative local adverbs" (= local adverbs of Starke's group II) can also be dependent on the verb (1985: 19). According to Boley the syntax of the local adverbs is profoundly changed in Middle Hittite. Whereas in Old Hittite motion place words (group I) are found with "adverbial" function and stative place words (group II) with "adnominal" function, they can in Middle Hittite be observed to take over each other's functions. She also noted an increasing tendency in Middle Hittite to connect the place word with the verb. The unities formed by the place word and verb in the case of adverbial use were described by Boley as "PW + V (=Place Word + Verb) phrases", which she considered as syntactic unities already in Old Hittite. From the fact that place word and verb can be separated by, for instance, a negation, she concluded that true compounds do not seem to be attested for Old Hittite (1985: 14). An example of a motion place word with adnominal function is the use of *bi-ri anda* instead of *si-ri andan* "inside the house". As an example of a stative place word with adverbial function Boley cited the expression *āppan ar-* "to stand behind, to support", which is described as "a phrasal verb, requiring a locative complement" (1985: 30).

In her book on Old Hittite word order, Luraghi makes some interesting observations about the function of local adverbs in Old Hittite (1990: 31-35). She, for instance, suggested that in the case of *parā ep-* the addition of *parā* seems to influence the valency of the verb and thus builds at least a semantic unit, if not a true compound (1990: 33). About local adverbs in -n she stated, without further argumentation, that they can form a semantic unit with the verb or occur as Complements of bi- or trivalent verbs.²²

When two local adverbs occur in one clause, often in juxtaposition, they either form a unity or function independently of each other. Kühnenhuber (1974) cited many examples in which two local adverbs show a formal unity. Among these are cases where two local adverbs occur in sentence initial position and the sentence connective follows after the second local adverb and a few sporadic examples in which two local adverbs are written together, without any word division.²³

In the CHD (L-N: 96-97 s.v. -ma) a special usage of local adverbs in paragraph initial or sentence initial position is described, in which they, often followed by the particle -ma, connect a paragraph or a sentence with the preceding one. In this use the local adverbs do not have any function within the sentence, but simply serve as connectors adding one sentence to the other, for instance, *anda z ma* "moreover" *āppa(z ma)* "afterwards, later" *āppanda(z ma)* "afterwards, later" and *parā(z ma)* "further, moreover, additionally".²⁴

²¹ See Luraghi (1990: 32-34) and the remarks about the position of local adverbs in the sentence in Old Hittite in § 5.4.1.

²² These remarks are further discussed in § 5.2.

²³ For examples of two local adverbs in sentence initial position see Kühnenhuber (1974: 153-156). Unfortunately no such examples are found with the predicates treated in ch. 2-5. For examples of two local adverbs without word division see Kühnenhuber (1974: 157-158) and § 4.2.9 and 4.2.10, n. 90.

²⁴ Compare the following observations in the CHD: "*anda z ma* which is paragraph initial, and which is not properly the local preverb "in, into, together" but an adverb of transition which connects the new paragraph with the preceding", with reference to Otten and von Schuler (L-N: 96), and "*āppa z ma* which is clause initial,

Chapter I

This use of *anda*, *parū* etc. can be compared with that of the connector *nammal = ma* at the beginning of a paragraph, described in the CHD (L-N: 390). These cases, of course, are irrelevant to the problem of the relationship between local adverb and verb.²³

1.1.2 Previous studies of the sentence particles

With regard to the Hittite sentence particles *-an*, *-(a)pa*, *-(a)sta*, *-kan* and *-san*, I will be primarily concerned with explaining their presence and relation to the use of local adverbs and to a lesser extent with identifying their function and meaning. Before giving a summarizing survey of the current opinions about both aspects of these particles, a few remarks need to be made about their chronological distribution.

The particle *-an* is rare and only found in Old Hittite texts.²⁴ The archaic character of the particle *-(a)pa* was already noted by Sommer (1938: 55). It seems to have fallen into disuse by the Middle Hittite period.²⁵ Also the other three particles *-kan*, *-asta* and *-san* are not used with the same frequency in all phases of the Hittite language.²⁶ In Old Hittite, sentence particles are on the whole less frequently employed than in later Hittite. The particle *-kan* is rarely found in Old Hittite and its use gradually increased from Old to New Hittite, whereby two developments can be noted.²⁷ On the one hand it is increasingly used with verbs that are found without particle in Old Hittite, while on the other hand it gradually replaces the other particles. Not only does it appear to be responsible for the disappearance of the particle *-an* after Old Hittite, the particle *-kan* can also be observed to take over the function of *-(a)sta*.²⁸ Although, for instance, Oettinger (1976: 67–70) argued that this interchange took place in Middle Hittite, the first traces of it can be found already in Old Hittite.²⁹ According to Oettinger in the larger Middle Hittite texts a “silbenrhythmische, komplementäre Verteilung” can be observed to work, implying that normally the particle *-kan* is found, but after *nu-* the particle *-(a)sta* is used instead. In a later phase the use of *nu-asta* (the only representation of *-asta* at this stage) is considerably reduced too and in the texts from the reign of Tuthaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II *-asta* is rarely used.³⁰ As remarked by Hoffner (1972: 32) the

frequently paragraph initial, is not the preverb, but a transitional adverb, relating paragraphs in a temporal sequence” (L-N: 97). Kammenhuber’s statement (1973: 149–150 + n. 12) that clause initial *anda = ma* is a “jungheitl. Neubildung” has been refuted by Neu (1983: 18 + n. 114) and CHD (L-N: 96), where it is observed that “its diachronic distribution was OH and MH, passing out of use in early NH”.

²³ An example of this paragraph initial use can be found in (OH-MH), § 3.2.3, where *arpa = ma* introduces a sentence with *urša uya*.

²⁴ See Otten and Souček (1969: 80–81), Kammenhuber (HW¹, A: 69–70). There is evidence that *-an* could be replaced by *-kan*, see Houwink ten Cate (1970: 31+n.4). The Middle Hittite examples of *-an* listed by Josephson (1972: 339–342) are all cases of *-za-an*, which may also be interpreted as *-za = an*; see Kammenhuber (HW¹, A: 70) and Neu (1963c: 175).

²⁵ There are no certain examples in Middle Hittite originals; see Melchert (1977: 19). The New Hittite examples listed by Kammenhuber (HW², A: 125–130) all come from (archaizing) mythological texts, omenes and rituals; see Josephson (1972: 335).

²⁶ According to Kammenhuber (1979: 200) the particles *-asta*, *-kan* and *-san* are all used frequently up to the 13th century.

²⁷ See e.g. Lameche (1961: 35), Carruba, Souček and Stemmann (1965: 10–13) and Otten and Souček (1969: 80).

²⁸ For examples see Houwink ten Cate (1970: 24–25, 30–31), Neu and Rüster (1973: 231, 233) and Oettinger (1976: 67ff–70).

²⁹ See, for example, the use of *-kan* instead of *-asta* with trivalent *da-* mentioned in § 4.1.6.

³⁰ See also van den Boogaard (1992: 291) and (1995: 59–60), where he mentions the surprisingly high number

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

particle *-šan* is "exceedingly rare after Muwatalli". There are hardly any examples of the particle *-šan* in late New Hittite texts from the reign of Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II.¹² The number of Hittite sentence particles was thus reduced in the course of the history of the Hittite language from five in Old Hittite to one in the latest phase of the language. This tendency of the sentence particles to take over each other's functions makes it hard to define their individual meaning and function, since in the only period in which all five of them were present and presumably expressed their own typical function, the use of sentence particles was far more restricted than in later Hittite and may not be representative for the situation in later Hittite.

In the continuing debate about the function of these particles two opposing views have been defended. The first is the local theory which was introduced by Götze (1933b), the other is the aspectual theory developed by Josephson (1972). Two very readable surveys of earlier research on the topic can be found in Josephson (1972: 1–20) and Carruba (1985: 86–93). I will summarize the discussion before 1985 by describing a few landmarks, which are of special interest for my treatment of the subject, and give a short overview of the studies that have appeared since Carruba's 1985 summary.

In Götze's local theory (1933b, 1950) the particles *-kan* and *-šan* imply an indication of local relation ("Ortsbezug"). Götze connects the use of sentence particles with the presence of local adverbs in the sentence, although he notes that they are also found in clauses with verbs that are not accompanied by local adverbs. Concentrating on the particle *-kan*, he concluded that the use of certain local adverbs excludes the presence of *-kan*, e.g. *andu*, *kattu*, *appa* and *menahhanda*, though with other local adverbs it is regularly found, but may be absent when the local adverb has a different meaning. Götze presented his findings in the following table:

	ohne -kan	mit -kan
<i>andu</i>	"weiter ein"	"em zu"
<i>appa</i>	"zurück"	"aus, weg"
<i>arha</i>	"heim"	"aus, weg"
<i>parā</i>	"weiter nach vorn"	"nach vorn"
<i>katta</i>	"wieder nach unten"	"nach unten"
<i>šarā</i>	"wieder nach oben"	"nach oben"

(Table 1.3. Relation between local adverb and sentence particle according to Götze (1933b: 29).)

In her treatment of the verbs used in combination with *arha*, *parā* and *peran*, Zuntz consistently added notes about the presence or absence of sentence particles. In her summary (1936: 106–111) she largely accepted Götze's ideas, and added the valuable remark that *-kan* and *-šan* can also be used anaphorically, or as she put it, they can "in geradezu adverbiellem Gebrauch auf eine Ortsbestimmung im vorangehenden Satze

of six examples of *-šan* in the bronze tablet Bo 86/299, and Boley (1992: 28).

¹³ According to van den Hout (1995: 73) the only example of *-šan* in a late New Hittite text occurs in the bronze tablet Bo 86/299 IV 25, ed. Otten (1988: 26). In the corresponding passage in KBo IV 10 rev. 23, ed. van den Hout (1995: 46) the particle *-kan* is used. For the replacement of *-šan* by *-kan* see also Neu and Ritter (1973: 231, 233) and Boley (1992: 28).

Chapter 1

Bezug nehmen und dann "daher" bzw. "darüber" oder Ähnl. heißen" (1936: 107).³⁴ The same idea was formulated by Pedersen (1938: 152): "Die Funktion der Partikeln erinnert also an d. *her-*, *hin-* in *her-ein*, *hin-ein* und noch mehr an niederl. *er*, z.B. in *ik heb er veel over nagedacht* 'ich habe viel darüber nachgedacht'".

In the treatment of *arha* in the second edition of the "Hethitisches Wörterbuch" by Kammenhuber, she convincingly showed that Götze's idea that *arha* means "weg" when used with *-kan*, and "heim" when used without *-kan*, only works with motion verbs that are formed with the prefix *pe-* and *u-* "hin" und "her" (HW², A: 259, 263–273).³⁵

Carruba (1964, 1969, 1985) followed Götze's local interpretation of the sentence particles. In his first publication on this topic we find the following summary of his opinion about the local function of these particles:

-kan:	Bewegung zu einem Punkt hin im allgemeinen Sinn
-sun:	Bewegung auf oder über etwas
-(a)ita:	Bewegung aus oder auf oder in einem Zentrum
-(a)pa:	Bewegung an einem Punkt heran, auf einen Punkt zu

(Table 1.4. Local function of particles according to Carruba (1964: 430).)

Next to a local role within the sentence, Carruba (1985) also attributed a relational-temporal function to them in the wider context of the whole paragraph or in a succession of clauses belonging together. "Es ist nicht anders im Deutschen mit den relationalen Adverbien 'dazu'; 'dabei'; 'darunter' usw., welche ursprünglich örtliche, dann auch zeitliche Bezüge feststellen und hervorheben" (1985: 89). This "textsyntaktische anaphorische Bezug" would be the main function of the particles after the Middle Hittite period, whereas in Old Hittite "der satzinnere, syntaktische Bezug" was prominent (1985: 90–91).³⁶

An objection to the local theory is that these particles are also found with verbs that do not express or imply any motion, for example the verb *harnink-* "to destroy". This argument was brought up by Schwartz in a discussion with Goetze in volume 70 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1950). Schwarz remarked that *-kan* may occur with any verb and came up with the solution that *-kan* is a "connective". Later Laroche (1961) asserted that *-kan* does not always indicate a location and that it certainly has to do with modality of the verb (perfective aspect).

Josephson (1972) developed an aspectual theory to describe the five Hittite sentence particles. Whereas in the local interpretation the relation of the particle with the local adverb is emphasized, Josephson stated that: "the particles do not refer exclusively to the verb, but are connected with the inflection of the entire phrase. Mostly, however, they should be understood as most intimately qualifying the predicate". In his material he found no indication of a specific connection of any particle with any local adverb, since there are no local adverbs that only occur with one particular sentence particle and even the local adverbs *andan*, *āppan* and *peran* do not prevent the use of a particle (1972: 352–353). In his view (1972: 416–417 et passim) the particle *-kan* first of all denotes

³⁴ For examples of this anaphoric use of *-ita* and *-sun* with the verb *dā-* see § 4.1.6.

³⁵ In § 3.2.3 it will be shown that the difference in meaning is syntactically motivated.

³⁶ Note that this anaphoric use of the particles was already observed by Zuntz (1936) and Pedersen (1938).

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

"perfective" aspect of the verb, but also expresses a manner of action ("Aktionsart"): the perfective action is normally seen as "terminal" (that is it indicates that the action is limited). The particles *-šan* and *-ašta* do not function on the aspectual level, but designate manner of action. The particle *-ašta*, like *-kan*, indicates terminal manner of action and *-šan* is the sign of "intraterminality" (that is, it indicates that the action develops in the direction of a goal). The particle *-(a)pa* is also qualified as designating manner of action, perhaps similar to *-ašta*. The function of the Old Hittite *-an* is regarded as possibly equivalent to *-kan* (1972: 344).

Boley (1989) considered the particles in Old Hittite and Middle Hittite with special reference to their relation with what she calls the place words (=local adverbs). In this book and in two later articles (1992 and 1994) we find many observations and conjectures about the relation of the particles and the local adverbs, though her ideas are not completely vindicated by her highly casuistic treatment of individual text passages and the limited amount of texts on which they are based (1989: 22–24). According to Boley the particles in Old Hittite had both local and aspectual functions. Stating that they already had connections with the local adverbs in Old Hittite, she surmised that in Middle Hittite "a profound alteration (took place) in the relation of the particles to the place words, which ultimately led to the strengthening of the place words at the expense of the particles" (1989: 334). The local function of the particles in Old Hittite is taken over in Middle Hittite by "standardized place words + particle phrases", a situation which is also found in the later phases of the Hittite language (1992: 5).

Neither the local nor the aspectual theory seems to be able to explain the function of the sentence particles in each of their attestations. In an article about the use of sentence particles with *šank-* "to seek", "to clean" and *harmink-* "to destroy", Höffner (1992) allowed for the possibility that sentence particles can have both functions, by showing that they seem to have a local function with *šank-*, but have an aspectual role or indicate manner of action ("Aktionsart") with *harmink-*.

Finally the 1993 article by Neu should be mentioned in which he discussed sentences with two sentence particles and cases in which a sentence particle does not follow the first word of the sentence, but is found in the middle of the sentence. In this article Neu advocates a local interpretation of the sentence particles.

1.2 Local adverbs and verbal valency

We saw that the traditional approach of labelling local adverbs as preverb, postposition or pure adverb solely on the basis of their position in the sentence cannot solve the many problems involved. Starke (1977) was the first to describe the function of the local adverbs in terms of their dependence on the verb. He divided local adverbs on formal grounds into a group functioning as nouns in the allative and one of nouns in the locative and accordingly classified them as being in "Zentralposition" (dependent) or in "Randposition" (independent). A similar concept of dependence is used by Boley (1985), but the terms "nuclear" and "non-nuclear", which she explains as the equivalents of Starke's concepts of "Zentralposition" and "Randposition", are not systematically applied in her description, and alternate with ambiguous designations like "adnominal" and "adverbial" (1985: 11). The view taken in this study is that dependence on the verb is

Chapter I

not determined by the case form of a noun or local adverb, but by the meaning of the verb which may or may not require the presence of a noun in a particular case form. Subscribing to the linguistic view that the verb is to be regarded as the central element of the sentence, my approach to this problem will be to start from the verb and compare its construction and meaning in its use with and without local adverbs. In this way it can be decided whether the local adverb influences the meaning or construction of the verb, in which case it is called dependent, or whether it has no function within the construction governed by the verb, in which case it is denoted independent of the verb.

The idea that the verb is the centre of the sentence, which governs the other elements, was first used in a linguistic model by Tesnière (1959). His ideas were further developed and his model adopted by other scholars under various names and forms, for instance "Valency grammar" ("Valenz-Grammatik"), "Dependency Grammar" ("Dependency-Grammatik") and "Functional Grammar". The term "valency" was introduced into linguistics to describe the capacity each verb has for combining with particular patterns of other sentence constituents.¹⁷ A survey of the historical development of the concept of verbal valency and the various linguistic models based upon this privileged position of the verb can be found in Happ (1976: 24–57, 313–346) and Allerton (1982: 1–29).¹⁸ In the present study the function of the local adverb in Hittite sentences will be described following the model and terminology of Functional Grammar as developed by Dik (1978, 1989), in the adaptation for the description of Latin by Pinkster (1972, 1990).¹⁹

According to this view the central element of every sentence is the constituent functioning as *Predicate*.²⁰ In most sentences the predicate is a verb, but it can, for example, also be a combination of an adjective or adverb with a copula.²¹ In example (1) and (2) below *stumbled* and *was unhappy* are examples of predicate constituents:²²

(1) *Oliver stumbled.*

(2) *Oliver was unhappy.*

Each predicate has the potential for occurring with a given number of other constituents in a fixed sentence structure or predicate frame. The English verb *to open* in (3), for example, requires two "companion nouns" (Allerton 1982: 2) to form a complete, meaningful sentence, while *to stumble* in (1) only needs one:

¹⁷ For this definition of the term valency as applied to a verb, see Allerton (1982: 2).

¹⁸ See also the bibliography in Pinkster (1990: 4–5).

¹⁹ The summary of this theory below is largely based on Pinkster (1990: 1–31). An example of a general theoretical approach to a problem of Hittite grammar is Luraghi's study (1990) on word order in Old Hittite; see § 5.4.1.

²⁰ The term sentence will be used throughout this study in the sense of simple sentence, i.e. a sentence consisting of one single independent clause. See Quirk et al. (1985: 47).

²¹ Following Pinkster we will use the shorter term predicate for "constituent functioning as Predicate". From now on the term verb will only be used to indicate that a word is of the syntactic category verb as opposed to, for instance, noun or adverb.

²² The English examples used as illustrations in this paragraph, are cited from Allerton's (1982) book on English verbal valency, viz. p. 32 (1), p. 36 (16), p. 35 (14a) and p. 32 (5).

(3) *Oliver suddenly opened the door.*

The verb to open can be called bivalent, and to stumble monovalent. With these verbs the difference between monovalent and bivalent coincides with the traditional opposition "intransitive" - "transitive", but as explained below and in § 2.0, bivalent verbs are not always transitive. Other verbs, like *to give* in (4), require three companion nouns to complete their meaning and are trivalent:

(4) *Oliver gave Fagin the watch.*

Constituents that are required by the meaning of the predicate are called "arguments". Many sentences also contain constituents that are outside the scope of the predicate, as for instance *suddenly* in (3). These constituents are optional constituents that can be omitted without leaving behind a sentence that is grammatically incorrect. Arguments and optional constituents together with the predicate form a "predication". The "nucleus" of a predication is formed by the predicate and its arguments, which together denote a certain event or situation.

The number of arguments and the type of semantic functions that are required by a predicate depend on the meaning of that particular predicate. The syntactic structure of the predication and the syntactic function which arguments may have are likewise determined by the predicate.⁴¹ Since predicates can have more than one meaning, they can also have more than one predicate frame and more than one valency. The Latin verb *dicere* may serve as an example. As explained by Pinkster (1990: 8) several predicate frames can be distinguished for *dicere*, among which bivalent *dicere* "to speak" in (5) and trivalent *dicere* "to say, to tell" in (6).⁴²

(5) *est oratoris proprium apte, distincte, ornare dicere.* "It is the orator's special ability to speak with propriety, clearness, elegance" (Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.2).

(6) *tum mihi Roseius ... alia multa ... dixit.* "Then Roseius told me many other things" (Cicero, *pro Quinctio* 78).

These examples demonstrate that one has to be cautious with labelling constituents asmissible. By rashly applying the criterion of omissibility to *dicere* one could be induced to believe that the constituents *mihi*, "(to) me", and *alia multa*, "many other things", in (6) are optional, since sentence (5) is grammatically correct without these. It is only by comparing the use of *dicere* in (5) and (6) with that of similar verbs or classes of verbs that the necessity to distinguish different predicate frames of *dicere* becomes clear. In (5) *dicere* is comparable to *loqui* "to speak" and *dicere* in (6) can be compared with verbs of communication like *exponere*, "to expound".⁴³ In other words the criterion "omissible"

⁴¹ Besides the syntactic and semantic functions of constituents, a third level of pragmatic functions can be distinguished. See Dik (1978: 19–20) and Pinkster (1990: 4). Pragmatic factors play, for instance, an important role in matters of word order. See e.g. the observations about the pragmatic aspects of word order in Old Hittite by Loraghi (1990: 83–109). For the position of local adverbs in the sentence and the possible influence of pragmatic factors see § 5.4.1, p. 164 and 5.4.2 p. 169, 174.

⁴² The Latin examples (5) and (6) are sentence (11) and (12) of Pinkster (1990: 8).

⁴³ With *loqui* and with *dicere* "to speak" a Subject and possibly also an expression of Manner (Pinkster 1990: 260 n. 4) is needed. Like other verbs of communication, *dicere* "to say, to tell" requires a Subject, an

Chapter 1

must be further specified. A constituent is considered *omissible* if the following three conditions are met:

- (a) the remainder is a grammatically correct sentence;
- (b) the lexical meaning of the remaining constituents is not influenced;
- (c) the semantic relations between the remaining constituents are not changed.

According to this new definition the constituents *mihi* and *alia multa* in (6) are clearly non-*omissible*, since both the lexical meaning of and the semantic relations between the remaining constituents would change if they would be omitted.

Nominal constituents, or noun phrases, consisting of more than one word have an internal structure of their own, which can be described as a construction on noun phrase level.⁴⁴ The central and obligatory element of a noun phrase is the Head, which is typically a noun. The constituent that determines, modifies or complements the Head is the Attribute. Attributes can be *omissible* or required by the Head. Adjectives, pronouns or nouns in the genitive are most frequently found as Attributes. A Hittite example of such a noun phrase is *kuršaš E-irza* in (6-OH), where the genitive *kuršaš* functions as the (*omissible*) Attribute and the ablative *E-irza* as the Head:⁴⁵

(6-OH)	<i>kuršaš E-irza DINGIR.MEŠ uenzi</i> "The gods come from the house of the kuršaš." KBo XXV 12 + KBa XX 5+ II 18' (CTH 627) translit. Singer (1984: 34) and Neu (1980: 32)
--------	---

Another type of phrase consisting of more than one word is the postpositional phrase formed by a postposition and a (postposition) Complement. In contrast with noun phrases both elements of this structure are *obligatory*.⁴⁶

When dealing with living languages one can consult the intuition of a native speaker to establish the valency of a predicate, but in the case of Latin or Hittite this is, of course, out of the question. In the study of a dead language like Hittite our most important tools for determining the valency of a predicate are observations, statistical or otherwise, about the occurrence of certain sentence structures with a predicate.⁴⁷ Of course we can only describe the valency of Hittite verbs as they are attested in the Hittite cuneiform

Object and an Indirect Object (§ 1.3).

⁴⁵ See Pinkster (1990: 73–75) and Quirk et al. (1985: 61–62).

⁴⁶ This example is discussed and cited with a part of the context in translation in § 3.1.2. Obligatory Attributes occur in the Old Hittite construction of a local adverb governing a preceding genitive Attribute; see § 5.2.

⁴⁷ Cf. the definition of prepositional phrases in Quirk et al. (1985: 60–61, 63) and Pinkster (1990: 70). Examples of postpositional phrases are discussed in § 5.1.

⁴⁸ Some practical tests have been developed in transformational generative grammar and other linguistic theories, which can also be of help in deciding the valency of a predicate. Some of these tests can be applied to specific situations in Latin. See the discussion of such tests by Happ (1976: 347–428), Bolkestein (1977), Vester (1981) and Pinkster (1990: 10–12, 24) with references to further literature. These tests cannot be used to define the valency of Hittite verbs, since they require a degree of language intuition that cannot be acquired on the basis of the limited Hittite text corpus, although they can sometimes help to improve our insight in the structure of Hittite sentences. The principles of, for instance, the "coordination-test" (*Vierkants-Test*) and the "collocation-test" (*Exclusions-Test*) that constituents with the same function can assume each other's position in the sentence, but cannot be juxtaposed (=co-occur without a connector) in the same sentence, also applies to Hittite, although, like in Latin, cases of asyndeton tend to blur the picture. See e.g. example (243-OH) and (244-OH) in § 4.1.1 where the Object *ayn wājīm pimlid = sumas = a* "pain, woe and their afflictions" consists of three nouns, the first two of which are simply juxtaposed whereas the third is added through the connector *-a/-ja* "and".

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

texts. It is very well possible that the verbs we study had a wider range of uses in the spoken Hittite language or were used differently in types of texts that have not been preserved. A large number of our Hittite documents are religious texts like rituals, festival texts, oracles and prayers. Then there are narrative texts such as historical texts and myths, and prescriptive texts, for instance, laws and instructions. There also is a relatively small group of administrative texts like economic and cult inventories and land grants. As a result the Hittite text corpus contains a high number of stylistically marked texts. Even letters, of which we fortunately have many, are quite formulaic in structure and phrasing, although probably closer in the everyday language than other kinds of texts. Within these limitations, though, it is in most cases possible to define the valency and the predicate frames of a Hittite predicate using the following three tools: (a) the criterion of unmissibility in its threefold definition as set forth above; (b) paradigmatic comparison as explained with regard to the Latin verb *dicere* and, most important of all, (c) observations about the kinds of constituents that are attested with a predicate: If a predicate is regularly construed with a specific type of constituent and these constituents are not of the kind that one may find with every predicate, indifferent of its meaning and usage, the constituent is likely to be an argument.⁵⁰

This method is followed in the description of the predicate frames of the sample verbs in ch. 2-4, with one extension of approach (c). Sometimes a particular constituent is only rarely used with a predicate, while there are semantic indications to believe that it might be required by the predicate. In these cases the constituent has also been considered as an argument⁵¹.

The syntactic functions of Subject, Object and Indirect Object are exclusively found with constituents that are required by the predicate. The same goes for the semantic functions Agent, Patient and Loser (§ 1.4). Other semantic functions can, however, be expressed by both obligatory and optional constituents. When, for example, dealing with an adverbial expression indicating Direction or Location the constituent can either be an argument or an optional constituent. In the first case its syntactic function would be labelled Complement, in the second case Adjunct (§ 1.3). The idea that adverbial expressions are not necessarily outside the scope of verbal valency was first formulated by Helbig and Schenkel (1973: 41): "Unsere bisher genannten Beispiele lassen keinen Zweifel offen, daß nicht nur Subjekte, Objekte und Prädikativa, sondern auch bestimmte Typen von Adverbialbestimmungen bei einigen Verben syntaktisch notwendig sind".⁵² The following three sentences were cited by Allerton (1982: 61) as examples of verbs that demand "either the presence or at least the reconstructability of an accompanying adverbial":

- (7) *Oliver went to Switzerland.*
- (8) *The holiday lasted for three weeks.*
- (9) *Oliver behaved badly.*

⁵⁰ See Pinkster (1990: 13).

⁵¹ See, for instance, the construction of *iwr-*, *pas-* and *awa-* with an accusative of the internal Object (§ 2.1.3 and 3.1.4) or *katta pas-* with an ablative or accusative indicating the Route along which § 3.2.4.

⁵² See further Helbig and Schenkel (1973: 34, 41-42), Allerton (1982: 57-64) and Pinkster (1990: 27-28).

Chapter I

The verbs *to go*, *to last* and *to behave* in sentences (7) to (9) require respectively an adverbial expression of Direction (*to Switzerland*), of Time during which (*for three weeks*) and of Manner (*badly*). With these verbs the adverbials of Direction, Time or Manner can be omitted, but only if they can be reconstructed from the context.⁵¹

The predicate frames of the verbs studied in chapters 2–5 will be described in terms of the syntactic and semantic functions of the arguments. Wherever it may be a relevant factor in the structure of the predicate frame, it will be noted whether a noun in a particular argument position always belongs to the semantic category of animate or to that of inanimate nouns, or if both categories are attested.⁵² See for example the following predicate frame of *dā-* "to take from" described in § 4.1.3:

(4.3) <i>dā-</i> "to take from"	SUBJECT • OBJECT •	INDIRECT OBJECT
	Agent Patient	Loser animate

In this standard presentation of predicate frames, in the first line the syntactic function of the arguments (in the order Subject, Object, Indirect Object and Complement) is given in capitals after the predicate in italics with its translation. In the second line, the semantic functions are given, and optionally in the third the semantic category animate-inanimate. From the above example it appears that the verb *dā-* "to take from" governs three arguments: Subject, Object and Indirect Object. These constituents have the semantic functions of Agent, Patient and Loser, respectively.⁵³ Finally, the constituent with the function Loser is shown to be always an animate noun. The number in brackets at the beginning denotes the number of the chapter (in this case chapter 4) and the order of treatment within the chapter (in this case we are dealing with the second predicate frame).

In this study a distinction has been made between "basic predicates" and "derived predicates". The term basic predicate is used to designate the predicates that are contained in the lexicon of a language. The verbs studied in ch. 2–4, for instance, can be described as basic predicates in their use without local adverbs. By adding a dependent local adverb to a basic predicate new predicates are formed. These will be called derived predicates, indicating that they are not contained in the Hittite lexicon as such, but are derived from the basic predicates through the addition of a local adverb.⁵⁴ From the English basic predicate "to go", for example, a great number of derived predicates are formed, like "to go about", "to go by", "to go in", "to go out" etc.⁵⁵

⁵¹ See also the remarks about the English verb *to go* in § 2.0.

⁵² For my use of the terms animate and inanimate noun and their relation with Starke's categories of "Personenklasse" and "Sachklasse" see § 1.1.1 n. 17 with references. In this context, the word noun is used in the sense of noun phrase referring to pronouns as well.

⁵³ See the definition of syntactic and semantic functions in § 1.3.

⁵⁴ See Dik (1978: 15–16): "From these basic predicates derived predicates can be derived 'by means of predicate formation rules'."

⁵⁵ The linguistic status of the derived predicates in Hittite is discussed in § 5.1, p. 136 and § 5.5, p. 178.

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

1.3 Syntactic and semantic functions on sentence level

The following syntactic and semantic functions will be referred to in this study:

Syntactic functions:⁵⁸

Subject	With predicates requiring one argument only, this single argument has the syntactic function Subject. The finite verb form agrees with this constituent in Number and Person. With bivalent and trivalent predicates the function Subject is held by the argument which determines this agreement with the finite verb in Number and Person. The Subject occurs in the nominative case. ⁵⁹
Object	The formal criterion that distinguishes the constituent with the function Object from the others is that with bivalent and trivalent predicates this constituent becomes Subject in passive sentences. ⁶⁰ The Object constituent always occurs in the accusative case.
Indirect Object	The third argument of predicates marking "transfer" or "communication" will be called Indirect Object. This argument function is typically expressed by the dative case.
Complement	This label will be used for the syntactic function of adverbial expressions in second and third argument position, which cannot be defined as Object or Indirect Object.
Adjunct	The syntactic function of optional constituents that specify the predication.

Semantic functions:⁶¹

The following semantic functions regularly occur in the description of the sample verbs in ch. 2–4:

Agent	The animate entity that controls a certain action or situation.
Patient	The entity to which a certain action is applied or to which something happens.
Direction	The place or person to which/whom an item moves or is moved.
Origin	The place or person from which/whom an item moves or the place from which an item is removed.
Route along which	The route along which the movement denoted by the predicate takes place.
Loser	The animate entity from which an item is removed. As the living being from whom an item is taken away, the Loser is implicated in the action denoted by the predicate. The function Loser is the opposite of the function Recipient, described below.

⁵⁸ The definitions have been adopted from Pinkster (1990: 13–15). For the problems involved in the development of formal criteria to define the syntactic functions of arguments see Pinkster (1990: 13–15) and Allerton (1982: 42).

⁵⁹ There are a few traces of the *accusativus cum particípio* construction in Hittite, where the accusative functions as Subject: see Friedrich (HE: § 325), van den Hout (1991: 295) and the survey of *verba direndi et tendendi* by Cotticelli-Kurash (1995).

⁶⁰ This characteristic of the Object can only rarely be verified in Hittite sentences, since the passive voice only developed in later Hittite and its use has remained limited; see § 2.1.3. For a passive example of the verb *dū-* see (242-NH) in § 4.1.1.

⁶¹ The definition of these semantic roles follows Pinkster (1990: 15–16, 28–29). The terms Origin, Location and Time and the distinction of the semantic role Loser have been adopted from Allerton (1982: 55, 129).

Chapter I

Location	The location of an event or situation.
Time	The (moment in) time of an event or situation.

The following semantic function are only occasionally mentioned:

Accompaniment	The person in the company of whom an event or situation takes place.
Beneficiary	The person benefitting from an event or situation.
Manner	The manner or circumstances of an event or situation.
Motive	The motive of an event.
Purpose	The purpose of an event or situation.
Recipient	The person to whom an item is transferred.
Time during which	The time during which an event or situation takes place.

1.4 Layout of chapters 2-4

In the chapters dealing with the sample verbs, I will, after a short introduction to the verb (§ #.0), first describe the predicate frames when the predicate is used without local adverbs (§ #.1). Each predicate frame will be treated in a separate paragraph (§ #.1.1, #.1.2...). The last of these sub-paraphraphs will be devoted to the occurrence of sentence particles with the various constructions. Then all the attested combinations of local adverbs with the predicate, along with the presence of sentence particles, will be discussed. First I will deal with the sentence structures that are found when the local adverb belongs to the predicate (§ #.2), then with the predicate frames that are attested when the local adverb is independent of the predicate (§ #.3) and finally a number of instances where the evidence does not permit a choice between dependent and independent use will be listed (§ #.4). Each chapter ends with a conclusion (§ #.5), in which the results obtained will be discussed and the derived predicate frames are described, in order of their treatment within the chapter and with an additional remark about the necessity of an accompanying sentence particle.

In describing the predicate frames I will concentrate on discussing the types of arguments that are found with a predicate and the meaning of the various predicate frames of which these arguments are a part. The presence of optional constituents will be discussed where it is relevant for establishing the valency and meaning of the predicate. It is not my aim to present a full description of all the idiomatic expressions found with a verb, but I will only treat those that are relevant for the definition of the function of the local adverb. The position of the local adverb in the sentence will not be considered in the descriptive chapters, but will be treated separately in § 5.4.

When dealing with combinations of two local adverbs two different interpretations are possible. They may belong together or they can function separately as two entities that are incidentally juxtaposed. If they are both dependent on the predicate they will consequently be treated with the other cases of dependent use (§ #.2). If one or both of the local adverbs are independent, the passage will be treated in the sub-paragraph devoted to independent use (§ #.3). When no choice could be made, they are to be found with the problematic cases of § #.4.

The problem of the local adverb Hittite

The local adverbs will be treated in the following order: *anda, andan, arha, arahza, katta, kattan, kattanda, šarā, šer, parā, peran, āppa, āppan, āppanda, andurza, ištarma, menahšundu, parranda, parian, tapušu*.⁶⁷

1.5 Examples from Hittite texts

Over a span of about five centuries Hittite documents were written on clay tablets in cuneiform script. In the course of that time the Hittite language developed and underwent all kind of changes in lexicon, spelling and grammar. The Hittite language is generally divided into three phases:

Old Hittite	ca 1650–1500 BC
Middle Hittite	ca 1500 / 1435–1350 ⁶⁸
New Hittite	ca 1350–1180

The Hittites had a great tradition in copying texts, so that many of the Hittite texts that are known to us now are later copies of older compositions. When studying a specific feature of the Hittite language in a given Hittite text, it is important to know the date of the text, that is the date of the composition and the date of the manuscript of the text. When dealing with a later copy of an older composition, one has to be aware of the possibility that it contains linguistic modernisms. In the last 30 years much work has been done to improve our tools for dating texts and the following methods have been developed. The composition of a text can be dated by its contents, for instance by the name of its author or other prosopographic and historic information, and by noting the oldest orthographic, grammatical and lexical features in its manuscript(s). The date of the copy can be determined by its sign forms or other paleographic features of its script. Here the principle holds that a manuscript is at least as young as the latest sign form it contains. The term "original" will be used for those texts of which both the composition and the manuscript can be dated to the same phase of the language, even if the manuscript is a contemporary copy of the first version and thus hardly an original in the ordinary sense.⁶⁹

Examples from Hittite texts are quoted in boustid transcription and a part of the context has usually been added in translation between round brackets. As a rule the text will be cited by referring to the cuneiform copy, followed by its number in Laroche's "*Catalogue des textes hittites*" (1971) and, as a help to the reader, a reference or references to an available edition or another treatment of the text passage, for instance KUB XIV 3 rev.

⁶⁷ The order is partly alphabetical and partly based on the desire to juxtapose local adverbs with related meanings.

⁶⁸ There is a gap in the transmission of Hittite texts of about 60 years in the period between the last Old Hittite king Telepinu (ca 1500) and Tuthaliya I, the first king of a new dynasty at the beginning of the Hittite Empire (ca 1435). From this period we do have texts, but they are all land grant texts (*Landschenkungsurkunden*) in Akkadian, that now and then contain Hittite words and phrases; see Otten (1987) and Rüster (1993). These lands grants are generally described as Middle Hittite on paleographic grounds; see Otten (1987). The period of which we actually have Middle Hittite texts is quite short; about 80 years (ca 1435–1350).

⁶⁹ In a number of instances we indeed have the first version of a text, for example in the case of sealed documents like land grants or the bronze tablet published by Otten (1988).

Chapter I

34–35 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 28–29). In my, often literal, translation of the Hittite textpassages the indicated editions have not always been completely followed. When a tablet has a very complex composition or when many manuscripts are involved, the text will be quoted in a standard edition, for instance 2mašl. III 5–7 (CTH 404) ed. Jakob Rost (1953: 356–359) or StBoT 24 II 79–81 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981).

For ease of reference, examples from Hittite texts are numbered in order of treatment, even for passages which are quoted more than once; where necessary a reference to the other occurrence is added. In the concluding chapter 5, however, examples from earlier parts of the book, mostly cited without context, are marked by an arrow (\Rightarrow) before their (first) number and provided with references to the sections where they are first treated. An indication of the date of the text is appended to the number (e.g. 7-OH: example no. 7, from an Old Hittite Original). In the numbering the following references to the date are used:

OH	Examples from Old Hittite Originals;
OH+	Examples from Old Hittite texts in Middle or New Hittite manuscripts;
MH	Examples from Middle Hittite originals;
MH+	Examples from Middle Hittite texts in New Hittite manuscripts;
MS	Examples from Middle Hittite manuscripts of Old or Middle Hittite compositions;
NH	Examples from New Hittite texts;
lateNH	Examples from late New Hittite manuscripts of compositions dating from the reign of king Tuthaliya IV onwards;
NS	Examples from New Hittite manuscripts of older compositions or if compositions of indeterminate date.

In the translation of the examples the sentence connectives *-ma* and *-nu* have not consistently been translated as "but, however" and "and" respectively. As for instance shown in the treatment of these words in the CHD (L-N. 91–99, 460–468), translation of these connectives is not always possible or necessary.⁶⁵

Abbreviations and symbols are in conformity with the conventions of *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CHD), L-N, Chicago, 1980–1989, xv–xxviii.

⁶⁵ The same goes for the Old Hittite sentence connectives *-ta-* and *-su-*. Incidentally *-nu-* has been rendered as "then".

CHAPTER 2

The deponent *iqa-* "to be on one's way, be (on the) march"

2.0 Introduction

The nature of *iqa-* "to march", as opposed to *pai-* "to go" and *nya-* "to come", was recognized by Götze (1925: 73) as marking "die Tätigkeit des 'sich Fortbewegens', des 'Gehens', des 'Marschierens'"¹, to which he added: "auf das Ziel kommt es dabei gar nicht an" (see § 2.1.1). This special character of *iqa-* is the reason that Bechtel (1936: 99–100) "paradoxical as this may seem for a verb denoting motion" (p. 99) ranked it as a "static verb" meaning "to be on one's way" rather than simply "to go". In this way he could account for the fact characteristic of static verbs that *iqa-* did not build any -*sk* forms. The Hittite verb *iqa-* is a deponent, medial in flexion but active in meaning, whereas the related Luwian verb *i-* "to go" has an active inflection (Laroche, 1959: 50). Etymologically *iqa-* represents a form of the Indo-European root *h₁ei-, though the views are divided over the exact grade of the root present in *iqa-*. As illustrated by example (7-OH), in Old Hittite the form of the verb was *iu-* instead of *iqa-*. This might be taken as evidence in favour of a zero-grade of the root.² Although the active verb *iannai-* may have originated as a durative of *iqa-*, it seems to function as a separate verb in Hittite meaning "to move, to march, to go" rather than "to move or march constantly". Examples of *iannai-* have not been considered in this chapter.³ Many of the examples discussed in this chapter can be found in the treatment of *iqa-* by Neu (1968a: 62–67) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. 2: 330–335).⁴

In § 1.2 we saw that Allerton (1982: 61) calls the English verb *go* bivalent, since it requires a Subject constituent and the presence or at least the reconstructability of an expression of Direction to create a sentence that is syntactically and semantically complete. Compare the following sentences:

- (1) *Francis went to Switzerland.*
- (2) *Francis went.*
- (3) *Francis went [namely to Switzerland].*

In sentence (1) the expression of Direction *to Switzerland* is a necessary completion of the predicate. Without this constituent the sentence is grammatically incorrect, because it is incomplete (2), unless the Direction can be understood from the context (3). Sentence

¹ Cf. Neu (1968b: 86), Oettinger (1979: 348–349) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. 2: 334–335) with references.

² See Friedrich (HW: 80–81) and Oettinger (1979: 81). Puhvel (HED, Vol. 2: 325–328) describes it as an original iterative- "durative" belonging to the active *i-*, *(i)*- "to go", which is present in the imperative forms *ii* and *ittēn*.

³ In its use with local adverbs *iannai-* is very similar to *iqa-* and *pai-*; see table 5.6 in § 5.3 with subsequent discussion.

⁴ See also the short remarks by Krotzsch (1968c: 463–465).

Chapter 2

(2) can be described as a case of absolute use, where the Direction is omitted.⁵ The example with the English verb *go* shows that there is no general rule that "intransitive" verbs of motion are monovalent. In each case one has to determine the valency and see whether or not it requires the addition of an adverbial expression.

2.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs

The verb *iqa-* is regularly found in Hittite texts, but far less frequently than *pai-* and *uqa-*. In Old Hittite originals, however, there is little evidence for *iqa-*. As noted in the introduction (§ 2.0), the spelling in Old Hittite indicates that the original form of the verb is *ja-*, rather than *iqa-*.⁶ The following passage from a historical text is too fragmentary to describe the construction:

- (7-OH) ER]IN.MEŠ ^UR^EH Hatti iatta "the troops of Hatti march (and the SA.QAZ-troops [...])"
KUB XXXVI 106(+) obv. 2' (CTH 27) ■. Otten (1957: 217-218)

2.1.1 *iqa-* + Subject

In the majority of cases *iqa-* is attested without an expression of Direction, governing a Subject constituent only. Consider the following examples:

- (8-MH) "KUR *z̄ya pangarit išpanaz kuyapi VI M[...]* ^UKUR^E kuyupi *ma* IV ME" KUR *ia[star]*" "The enemy is on the march in large numbers by night, 600 enemies in one place, 400 enemies in another."
HKM 25: 8-8 (CTH 199) ■. Alp (1991b: 164-165); see CHD (P/1: 88)⁷
- (9-NH) ("I led the army in haste") *nu LUGAL.GAL-IST-ERIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA* ■ A *mumtanda iqalhat* "and I, My Majesty, together with troops (and) charioteers marched concealed."
KBo IV 4 III 31-33 (CTH 61.IIB) ed. Götz (1933a: 126-127); see CHD (L-N: 332) and (P/2: 147)
- (10-NH) *mađhan ma iqalhat nu GIM-an INA URSU* "Layaša ārhur "But when I was on my way and when I arrived at mount Layaša, (then the mighty Stormgod, My Lord, manifested his divine guidance.)"
KBo III 4 II 15-16 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götz (1933a: 46-47)

⁵ The term absolute use will be used in a broad sense, including cases of context conditioned ellipsis.

⁶ In the fragment KBo XX 31: 14 (CTH 438.b) the spelling *ī-i-a-ni-i-a-* is found, but the date of this text is disputed. According to Hoffner (1992b) it is likely to be an Old Hittite copy. Neu (1974a: 110 n. 252) referred to it as a "mb" (=mittelhethitisch) copy and in the preface to KBo XX (p. VI-VII) by Otten and Rüster it is included among the "älthethitisch Ritualexze" without specifying the date of the copy.

⁷ Note that in this example the spelling *i-a-l-i-a-r-i-* is used.

⁸ I have assigned the Maṣaṭ letters to CTH 199, the number of the long known Maṣaṭ letter ABoT 65, ed. Güterbock (1944).

The deponent is-

In the first two examples *iqa-* is accompanied by adverbial expressions of Manner, *pangarit* in (8-MH) and *munnanda* in (9-NH), and Time, *ispanda-* in (8-MH).⁹ They inform the reader about the way in which or the moment in time in which the movement takes place. Adverbials of this type are regularly found with *iqa-*. The clause *malhyan = ma iqqahhat* in example (10-NH) shows that a complete sentence can be formed by *iqa-* and a Subject constituent only. In the Annals of Mursili II this phrase regularly occurs in sentences of the type "While I was on my way, such and so happened", where the main clause following the one with *iqa-* informs the reader about the whereabouts of the King during his expedition. The fact that in the majority of attestations no expression of Direction is found with *iqa-* confirms Götze's description (1925: 73) of *iqa-*, as cited in § 2.0. Both this general omission of the Direction of the movement and the regular use of Adjuncts of Manner and Time are indications that *iqa-* denotes the action of moving in its own right without emphasis on a possible direction of the movement. The appropriate translation of *iqa-* in its main function indeed is "to be on one's way, to (be on the) march, to move, to walk". For this monovalent *iqa-* the following predicate frame can be formulated:

- (2.1) *iqar* "to be on one's way, to (be on the) march, to move, to walk" SUBJECT
Agent

2.1.2 *Object + Subject + expression of Direction*

In the previous section we saw that in the majority of cases no notion of direction is found in sentences with *iqa-*. There are, however, a few instances in which *iqa-* is accompanied by an expression of Direction:¹⁰

- | | |
|---------|--|
| (11-NH) | <i>INA KUR¹¹⁰ Tummannia-ja kuyapi iahhhar</i> "And when I was on my way to the land [of] Tummannia, (the elders (of the city) also did not come up in front [of] me.)"
KBo V 8.IV 10-12 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 160-161) |
| (12-NH) | "“But when I moved back from the Egyptian country,”) nu <i>INA</i>
<i>GU Lawazantija.xw DINCHIR¹¹¹ BA1.-muangzi iahhhar</i> “I was headed to Lawazantija in order to sacrifice [to] the god.”
StBoT 24: II 79-81 (CTH 81.A) ed. Otten (1981: 16-17) |

This use of *iwa-* with an expression of Direction, *INA KUR⁽¹⁾* *Tümmerma* in (11-NH) and *INA⁽²⁾* *Lewazantia* in (12-NH), may have developed under the influence of *pai-*

⁹ Although *pangari* in origin is a comitative instrumental "(together) with a crowd, mass", it is used already in Old Hittite as an adverb of Manner "in masses, in large numbers" see (117-OH) in § 3.2.4, Melchert (1977: 164) and CHD (P1: 87–88). Starke (1977: 104) claimed that there are no examples of animate nouns in the instrumental case in Old Hittite originals. The collective noun *"pangur-* apparently belongs to the semantic category of inanimate nouns, although it denotes a group of living beings. For the semantic character of Starke's classes of animata nouns (= "Personenklasse") and inanumata nouns ("Sachklasse") see § 1.1.1, n. 17.

To give an idea of the relative frequency of this use: Among a total of around 100 complete instances, *lia* is found ten times with an expression of Direction.

Chapter 2

"to go to", the most common Hittite verb of motion, which in its main function always requires the presence of an expression of Direction (§ 3.1.1). Compare the following two examples where the construction of *pai-* corresponds with that of *iq-* in (11-NH) and (12-NHD):

- (13-NH) ("This I accomplished in one year") MU-*anni* = *ma* INA KUR Azzi pāun
 "In the (next) year I went to Azzi."
 KBo III 4 IV 34–35 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 130–131)¹¹

(14-NH) ("But as soon as spring came,") *man* INA KUR "Azzi taninumianzi pāun
 "I would have gone to Azzi to organize (it)."
 KBo IV 4 IV 42–43 (CTH 61.IIB) ed. Götze (1933a: 138–139)

The constituents ANA DINGIR^{L/M} BAL-*manguzi* in (12-NH) and *tuninumazzi* in (14-NH) indicate the Purpose of the movement of the predicate. Expressions of Purpose are very rare with *iya-*, but are regularly attested with *pai-* and *aya-* in their use with an expression of Direction (§ 3.1.1). As explained in § 3.1.1 expressions of Purpose are optional elements in sentences with *pai-* and *aya-*, which are not required by the meaning of these predicates.

In this rather infrequent construction, */a-* functions as a bivalent verb, governing an expression of Direction and meaning "to be on the way to, to be headed to":

- | (2.2) <i>iia-</i> "to be on the way to, to be headed to" | SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT |
|--|---|
| | Agent Direction
inanimate ¹³ |

2.1.3 *int* → *internal Object*

¹⁴ The verb *rig-* is also attested with the accusative of the internal Object KASKAL-*im*:¹⁴

- (15-NS) ("Who did (something) wrong, you, Sungod, stood above (him).") *ūk-to ummel SIG-andan KASKAL-an ijahhat* "I kept going my own good way. (Whoever did me wrong, you, Sungod, see him.)"
KUB XVII 28 II 58–60 (CTH 426.2)

(16-NS) |KASK|AL-an + ma kuin ijanduri "The way which they go."
KUB XXXVI 5 15 (CTH 343.II A) translit. Laroche (1968: 36)

¹¹ This instance is cited as (62-NH) in §3.1.1.

¹² See Orie (1944: 4). Example (14-NH) might be interpreted as an instance of what Melchert (1979: 58) calls "the Hittite continuum of the Indo-European 'double dative' construction", where the logical Object of the infinitive (KUR¹³) is expressed in the dative/locative. In that case *man iwa KUR¹⁴ Accittonimunanzipilan* can be translated as "I would have gone to organize Atzu".

¹² As in cases of *tu-* with a dependent local adverb, expressions of Direction governed by *tu-* are as a rule inanimate nouns in the dative-locative. The only possible exceptions are examples like (12-NH), where the dative *ANA DINGIR^{LIM}* does not necessarily depend from the main predicate *tu-*, but can also be interpreted as the Complement of the infinitive that indicates the Purpose of the main predicate.

¹⁴ See Neu (1961a: 64 + n. 16).

*The deponent *iqa-**

The habit of adding a semantically closely related noun as an internal Object to an otherwise monovalent verb is a well known linguistic feature in Indo-European languages like Greek or Latin. In this way the valency of the verb is "artificially" raised to the level of a bivalent verb. ■ Latin *pugnam pugnare* or Greek μάχης μάχεσθαι, for instance, *pugnam* and μάχης are examples of accusatives with the function "internal Object" or "cognate Object". The noun in the accusative may be ■ the same morphological root as the verb (=figura etymologica) but not necessarily. It does, however, always belong to the same semantic field as the verb. In the Hittite expression KASKAL-*an iqa-* "to go a (certain) way" KASKAL-*šta*, with the underlying Hittite word *palsa*, is semantically related to *iqa-*, though not of the same root.¹⁵ The function ■ the internal Object is to further specify or strengthen the notion that is expressed by the predicate.¹⁶ The same construction with KASKAL-*an* is found with *pai-* and *uya-*; see § 3.1.4. With these verbs of motion the accusative of the internal Object can also be described ■ an accusative describing the Route along which.¹⁷ Maybe the marker of the Route along which can be considered as the semantic function of the constituent with the syntactic function internal Object with *iqa-*, *pai-* and *uya-*.

In Latin internal Objects become Subject, when the sentence is passivized.¹⁸ For Hittite we lack any certain evidence of verbs that are attested with an internal Object and also occur in the passive voice.¹⁹

The particle -*za* with KASKAL-*an iqa-* in (15-NS) indicates that there is a possessive relation between the Subject and the internal Object, "to go one's own way".²⁰ In its use with an internal Object *iqa-* has the following predicate frame:

(2.3) <i>iqa-</i> "to go a (certain) way"	SUBJECT + INTERNAL OBJECT
	Agent Route along which

2.1.4 Use of sentence particles in sentences without local adverbs

In sentences without local adverbs *iqa-* is never attested with sentence particles, irrespective of its construction.²¹ The importance ■ this observation will become evident in the following paragraph: When a sentence particle is present in a sentence with *iqa-*, it is the result of the addition ■ a local adverb.

¹⁵ Compare the Latin expression *cum ipse* etc.

¹⁶ For the function of the internal Object in Latin see Kühtner and Siegmann (1912: 274–285) and Pinkster (1990: 16). For that in Greek see Büchner and Gerth (1898: 303–311). This accusative of the internal Object is not to be confused with the accusative of Direction with verbs expressing motion. See Friedrich (HE § 201a), Neu (1980b: 30 n. 67) and Josephson (1981: 101–102).

¹⁷ This was observed for Greek by Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950: 69). For the "Akkusativ des Weges" in Hittite see Sommer (1950: 343), Friedrich (HE 6.20ib) and the remarks in § 3.5.

¹⁸ See Pinkster (1990: 10 + n. 7). The internal Object in Latin, in other words, meets the formal criterion that the Object ■ the constituent that becomes Subject of a passive sentence; see § 1.3.

¹⁹ The passive voice seems to be a creation ■ later Hittite (from Middle Hittite onwards), but was never fully developed; cf. Neu (1976: 247). For examples of sentences with passive verb forms see Neu (1968b: 112–116), none of which come from Old Hittite originals. The first datable examples are found in the Maṣat letters e.g. HKM 10 and HKM 47; 16 (ed. Alp 1991: 170–177, 204–205).

²⁰ For this function of -*za* see Hoffner (1973a: 521) and § 4.1.2.2.

²¹ Cf. Boley's list of Middle Hittite examples in which *iqa-* is found without sentence particles, among which examples with local adverbs in the same sentence (1989: 197–198).

2.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate *iqa-*

In this section examples are described in which the local adverb is dependent on the predicate, none of which occur in Old Hittite texts. The local adverbs modify the meaning of the predicate and in many cases also influence the grammatical construction. In combination with these local adverbs, *iqa-* no longer denotes the action of moving in its own right, but a movement in a certain direction, in most cases to or from a certain place or person. As a result the combination of *iqa-* plus local adverb now requires the completion of an adverbial expression of Direction or Origin, the choice of which depends on the nature of the local adverb, or in some cases a noun in the accusative, possibly with the function Object.²² The local adverb defines the direction of the motion denoted by *iqa-* as going into (*anda*), away from (*arha*), down from (*katta*) or into (*kattanda*), up to or from (*ari*), on \square , out to or out of (*parā*), back from (*āppa*) or past (*istarna arha* and *ser arha*) \square certain place or to (*tanda*, *kattan*), from (*arha*) \square after (*āppan*) a person. Only in the case of *istarna* the construction is identical with the main construction of *iqa-*. Many of these dependent local adverbs are responsible for the presence of sentence particles in the sentence, particles that are otherwise absent with *iqa-* (§ 2.1.4).

2.2.1 *anda iqa-*

In combination with *anda* the predicate *iqa-* is accompanied by an expression of Direction and a sentence particle.²³ Compare the following examples:

- (17-MH) *n = ašta¹⁴ KUR QATAUMA kui¹⁵ KUR-e anda lammar lammar iattar[i]*
 "Because the enemy likewise constantly marches into the country, (if you would locate him somewhere, you might be able to defeat him.)"
 HKM 8: 12-17 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 132-133)
- (18-MH) *namina = ta = kkan ŠI KUR¹⁶ Hatti kui¹⁷ pittejanted anda iia[n]tat*
 "Then, the refugees from the country of Hatti, who went (in) to you."
 (you, Maddugalla, kept taking them (up).)"
 KUB XIV 1+ rev. 34 (CTH 147) ed. Götz (1927: 28-29)
- (19-MH) ("Your Majesty, my lord, send yo[ur] servants to me quickly.") LÜMEŠ
 Qašga = ia = mu = ūšan kui¹⁸ anda iijantat "Also (of) the Kaška tribes
 that went (in) to me, (no one comes with me anymore.)"
 ABoT 60 rev. 3-7 (CTH 200) ed. Laroche (1960: 82-83)

The expression of Direction used with *anda iqa-* can be an inanimate noun in the dative-locative (KUR-e in 17-MH), or a personal pronoun in the dative case (-ia and -mu in 18-MH and 19-MH). In the first case the original meaning of *iqa-* is still recognizable in the combination *anda iqa-* "to move or march into", but in the latter case the meaning of *anda iqa-* is not different from that of *anda pat-* with an animate noun in the dative.

²² The expressions of Direction or Origin are in most cases inanimate nouns. Exceptions will be noted.

²³ See Boley (1989: 199) with regard to (18-MH).

The deponent ija-

In this use with an animate expression of Direction, *anda ija-* "to go (in) to a person" has the connotation "to join the party of, ■ seek refuge among", which was observed for *anda pāi-* by von Schuler (1957: 18); see § 3.2.1.

As sentence particles, -kan, -ašta and -šan are used with *anda ija-*, the only examples of -ašta and -šan being the ones cited here.²⁴

2.2.2 *arha ija-*

When the local adverb *arha* is added to the predicate *ijs-* and has the notion "away, forth", the sentence contains an expression of Origin and the sentence particle -kan. Unfortunately there are only two examples of *arha ija-* in which the complete sentence is readable:

- (20-NH) (To my lord speak. Thus Maša, your servant: "I fell down at the feet of my lord two times seven times.") ¹³"Udazas kan kuyapti arha ijahhat
"As soon as I went away from the city of Uda, (did I not speak to my lord as follows?)"
KBo IX 82 obv. 1-5 (CTH 197) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 149)

In the above instance *arha ija-* has the meaning "to go away from". ■ this use *arha ija-* is comparable with *arha pāi-* "to go away", see § 3.2.3.

In the following passage we might have an example of *arha ija-* denoting the withdrawal of the Hittite king from enemy territory. Here Kümmel (1967: 112-113) suggested to restore *ijs-* at the beginning ■ 17:²⁵

- (21-NH) *mañkam = aš-kan²⁶ iſtu ZAG KUR¹¹ KÜR arha [ijattari]* "As soon as he (=the king) marches away from the border of the territory of the enemy, (they take one (male) prisoner and one woman of the country.)"
KBo XV 116-7 (CTH 407.A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 112-113)

In the following example *arha ija-* has a slightly different notion:

- (22-MH) ("The countries that were your suppliers of thick breads, libations and tribute, O gods of heaven.") *arha = kan¹² MES SANGA¹³ MI NUS MES AMA.DIN.GIR¹⁴ suppaēš¹⁵ SAN[GA]¹⁶ LU MES GUDU¹⁷ BI MES NAR¹⁸ MES išhamatal-leš kue[z] ijantur* "out of which priests, šigancanni-priestesses, sacred priests, anointed priests, musicians and singers have come forth, (from these (countries) they carried away the tribute and ritual paraphernalia of the gods.)"
KUB XVII 21+ II 8-13 (CTH 375.1A) ed. von Schuler (1965: 154-155)

²⁴ When in the Mašalet letter HKM 37: 3 *i-ja-at-la-ri* is restored, a sentence particle has to be read as well in the lacuna of 1. 2. The same goes for a possible restoration *i-ic-a*. Differently Alp (1991b: 186-187 + n. 145).

²⁵ See Kümmel (1967: 112) referring to KBo XV 112-3, where the verbal form *ijattari* is present, but the rest of the sentence must be restored at the end of line 2: *aš-kan iſ-TU ZAG KUR¹¹ KÜR ar-ha i-ja-at-la-ri* [].

²⁶ *ma-ah-ha-an-na-aš-kan* can also be interpreted as *makhān-sa-až* "But as soon as".

Chapter 2

In (22-MH) the context tells us that *arha ija-* means "to come out of, to come forth from" rather than "to go away from".²⁷ ■ this use *arha ija-* is comparable with *arha uya-* "to come forth from, to come out of" in (108-MH) in § 3.2.3. A case ■ independent use of *arha* is discussed in § 2.3.1.

2.2.3 *katta ija-*

The local adverb *katta* is attested only twice with *ijs-*, both times written with the logogram GAM and with the sentence particle -kan in the sentence:

- (23-NH) DI-ešni = ma = aš = kan GAM ijattaru "But he (=the EN KUR²⁸) must come down for the trial (and look into the case outside (of the city).)"
KUB XXI 29 (1) 14-15 (CTH 89.A) transl. von Schuler (1965: 146-147)

- (24-NS) ("If stars stand at the right and left horn of the moon²⁹ and [...])
namma = aš = kan GAM DU-ri "(If) in addition they go down."
KUB VIII (3: 11'-12' (CTH 533.5))

In the preceding lines of example (23-NH) we are told that the EN KUR²⁸ "the lord of the country" arrives at the gate of the city with a Kaskaean driving his cart. The Kaskaean is not allowed to enter the city and has to step down from his cart after arriving at the gate and return (II 6-13). So (23-NH) can be understood as ordering the EN KUR²⁸ not to enter the city as well, but ■ come down (namely from his cart) and hold a trial near the gate, outside of the city. The probability of the omission of an expression of Origin "from the cart" in this context is suggested by the occurrence of the same construction, with explicit expression of Origin ("*lulugamaz*") and sentence particle, with the combination *katta uya-* "to come down from"; see (119-OH+) in § 3.2.4.

The dative-locative DI-ešni in (23-NH) can be understood as an Adjunct that indicates the Purpose of *katta ija-* "to come down for the trial".²⁹

In (24-NS) *katta ija-* describes the going down of stars. In the description of a general phenomenon like this there is no need to stress the Origin of the movement. Comparison with *katta paɪ-* and *katta uya-*, which are both constructed with an expression of Origin when they are accompanied by a sentence particle, makes it likely that in the above examples we are dealing with the same construction of *katta ija-* with omission of the expression of Origin; see § 3.2.4.

2.2.4 *kattan ija-*

In the following instance we may have an example of the combination *kattan ija-* with an animate noun in the dative serving as expression ■ Direction and the meaning "to go or come (in)to (the presence of)":

²⁷ Differently Boley (1969: 199).

²⁸ takku ¹S/N ¹S ZAG ¹M GÜB MUL.MEŠ *ara*, transl. Güterbock (1988: 173).

²⁹ Cf. Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 82), "but we shall go down for the trial" and von Schuler (1965: 146-147): "Zu einem Prozeß aber soll er hinabgehen".

The deponent ija-

- (25-NH) ("The head of the scribes on wood here said: 'write to him' ") *nu = ija = mu UKU-as ina* ^{URU} *Taparuqa GAM-an ijattaru* "a man must come to me in Taparuqa."
KBo IX 82 obv. 9-11 (CTH 197) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 149); see Neu (1968: 65)

The same construction, with an animate expression of Direction and, in contrast with *katta*, without a sentence particle, is attested with *kattan pai-* and *kattan uya-*; see § 3.2.5. Independent use of *kattan* with *ijs-* is discussed in § 2.3.2.

2.2.5 *kattanda ija-*

There is only one example of *kattanda ija-* "to move or march down into" with an expression of Direction and the particle *-kan*:

- (26-NH) *nu = kan kuitma <in> in[a] KUR* ^{URU} *Malazzija kattandu ijahhat* "During the time I marched down into the country of Malazzija [a fog [arose] in front of me and the troops so that the enemy did not see anything at all.]"
KUB XIV 20: 16'-17' + KBo XIX 76 I 29'-30' (CTH 61.III 3) ed. Houwink ten Cate (1979: 162-164)

kattanda ija- "to march down into" is comparable with *kattanda pai-* "to go down into" in particle use and in meaning; see § 3.2.6.

2.2.6 *šarā ija-*

The combination *šarā ija-* "to walk up to, to go or come up to" is attested with an expression of Direction and the sentence particle *-kan* or *-asla*:

- (27-NH) *nu = kan* ^{URU} *KU:US* ^{URU} *KARTAPU = ja SA LÜ MES* ^{URU} *Kašga URU-ri šarā ija liqantari* "A heavily armed soldier and a charioteer of the Kaškacans may not walk up to the city."
KUB XXI 29 II 6-8 (CTH 89.A) transl. von Schuler (1965: 146)

Compare the analogous constructions of *šarā pai-* and *šarā uya-* in § 3.2.7. The absence of the sentence particle in the following passage from an oracle text is an exception:³⁰

- (28-NH) ("Because Pattiya reached out (his hand) to palace property, therefore a penance was determined") "*Pallili ū = a kuit ina É.GAL*" ^{URU} *šarā ijattal* "and because Pallili went up to the palace (and put on the clothes belonging to his mother, (...))"
KUB XXII 70 obv. 76-78 (CTH 566) ed. Ünal (1978: 78-79)

³⁰ See ibid. (KUB XXII 70) rev. 36 in Ünal (1978: 90-91).

³¹ See the discussion of the meaning of *ANA KIN É.GAL* ^{URU} *parū šah[ška]* obv. 76 by Ünal (1978: 125), who suggested the alternative translation "weil Pattiya sich in die Arbeit des Palastes eingemischt h[at]". See ibid. for further references.

Chapter 2

There are no examples of *šarā ija-* with an explicit expression of Origin, but in the following instances of absolute use an expression of Origin seems to be omitted rather than an expression of Direction:

- (29-NS) ("As from an oven no grass comes up") [*n-ašta apell = a ISTU A.ŠA = SU ziz-tar*] SE¹² *šarā lē uiczi n-ašta ūjarā hahhali(i) iataru*] "may (thus) from his field no wheat (and) no barley come up and may weeds come up."¹³
1087/z III 6' (CTH 427.B) ed. Oettinger (1976: 14–15, 138)¹⁴
- (30-NH) ("Speech became little in my mouth"¹⁵) *nus-muskan memiuš tepu kuitki šarā iqattut* "and my speech came up somewhat little."¹⁶
KBo IV 2 III 42–44 (CTH 486.C) ed. Götze and Pedersen (1934: 4)

In (29-NS) *šarā ija-* with *-ašta* resumes *šarā uya-* with *-ašta* "to come up from" of the previous clause, without repeating the expression of Origin *ISTU A.ŠA = SU* "from his field".¹⁷ The corresponding construction of *šarā uya-* with expression of Origin and sentence particle is treated in § 3.2.7. In (30-NH) the act of producing speech is described with the metaphor of speech coming up. The fact that the words come up from the mouth is not explicitly mentioned here.¹⁸

2.2.7 *parā ija-*

The few complete instances of *parā ija-* that are available represent three different uses. The constructions of *parā pal-* and *parā uya-* referred to in this section are discussed in § 3.2.8. There is one example of *parā ija-* with an expression of Direction, but without the particle *-kan*:

- (31-NH) *lukkanti = ma ina* ¹⁹*Taptina parā ijahhat* "In the morning I marched on to Taptina. (As soon as I arrived in Tarkuma, I burnt down Tarkuma.)"
KBo IV 4 III 43–44 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 128–129)

This use of *parā ija-* "to move or march on to" can be compared with that of *parā pal-* "to go on to" with expression of Direction and without sentence particle.

parā ija- also occurs with *-kan* and the meaning "to go out":

- (32-NH) (...) *parā = ma = aš = kan* *U. ija(i)ari manqa*] "But he will not go out at all. (...)"
KBo XV 2 rev. 5' (CTH 421.1A) ed. Künnele (1967: 60–61)

¹² Restored from KBo VI 34+ II 43–45 (MS A), which in III 45 has the variant *n|a|-aš-ta UGU za-ah-hi-l-i i-ja-ta-ni*. The word *zahheli-*, corresponding with logographic 2A.AH.L²⁰ and Akkadian *zaħħlu* "garden crev", is used here for unwanted "weeds". See Hoffner (1974: 110–111) and Neu (1974a: 28).

¹³ See CHD (L-N: 269).

¹⁴ See Puhvel (HED, Vol. 2: 333).

¹⁵ Differently Oettinger, who suggested (1976: 48 + n. 120) to take *A.ŠA* as the Subject and *hahhali* as the Direction of *iataru* "und es (sc. das Feld) soll (hinauf) in die Macchia (übergehen)".

¹⁶ For speech coming out of the mouth see the expression *-ašta uddar ifša; parā uattari* in (33-NS) in § 2.2.7.

*The deponent *iqa-**

This instance of *parā iqa-* resembles cases of absolute use of the construction of *parā pāi-* with an expression of Direction and a sentence particle, which has the meaning "to go out to".

The combination *parā iqa-* is also attested with an expression of Origin and the particle *-asta*:

- (33-NS) *uddar = ma = aisi[sa] I kue KA x U-az parā iqtattari* "But the words that come out of the mouth, (must be as sweet as honey.)"
 KUB XXVII 29+ II 17-18 (CTH 780.2) ed. Haas and Thiel (1978: 142-143)

Here *parā iqa-* is similar in construction and meaning to *parā uya-* "to come out of, to leave" with an expression of Origin and a sentence particle, see § 3.2.8.

2.2.8. *āppa iqa-*

There is one clear example of *āppa iqa-* with an expression of Origin as the meaning "to move or march back from":

- (34-NH) GIM-an = ma istu KUR ^{URU} Mizrī EGIR-pa iqahlyat "But when I moved back from the Egyptian country, (I was headed to Lawazantja in order to sacrifice to the god.)"
 StBoT 24: II 79-81 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 16-17)

The same construction of *āppa iqa-* is found with *āppa uya-* "to come back from", also without a sentence particle; see § 3.2.9. Independent use of *āppa* with *iqa-* is treated in § 2.3.4.

2.2.9. *āppan iqa-*

There is one instance of *āppan iqa-* governing a constituent in the accusative and the particle *-kan*:

- (35-NH) ("About the matter of Palla, she" said: "The queen said: 'What I used to give to Palla, acknowledge it, O god'") "Pallann = a s ya s kan EGIR-an iqahlyut" 'and go after Palla.' (We interrogated Palla's comrades and they said: 'We don't know about that matter.')"
 KUB XXII 70 obv. 36-38 (CTH 566) Ünal (1978: 64-65)

In the first discussion of this passage by Sommer (1932: 186-187 + n. 1), he suggested the translation "ihm den Weg frei lassen(?)" for *āppan iqa-*. Others followed him in taking the above example as a request to the god "to go easy on Palla".⁷⁷ Ünal (1978: 65, 115) proposed the opposite translation "dafür sollst du Palla verantwortlich machen".

⁷⁷ Following Neu (1968a: 64 + n. 14, with ref.) the particle *-asta* is to be read here instead of *-kan*.

⁷⁸ Subject is a woman called Nuru mentioned in obv. 38.

⁷⁹ For other possible translations, see Ünal (1978: 65 + n. c.).

⁸⁰ Thus Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 333) and similarly Kronasser (1966: 463): "fall den P. unbeliebt".

which fits better in the context and can be explained as derived from the literal translation "to go or come after. ■ pursue".⁴¹ This meaning is normally found with *äppan* *pai-* and *äppan* *uya-* governing a dative case; see § 3.2.10. In the above example the use of the local adverb *äppan* with *iqa-* has resulted in a construction of the predicate with an accusative, which is accompanied by the particle *-kan*.⁴² The local adverb *äppan* can also ■ independently of the predicate *iqa-*; see § 2.3.5.

2.2.10 *İstarna iqa-*

The local adverb *istarna* is attested once with *iqa-*, with the particle *-kan*:

- (36-NH) ("He takes the following herbs (...) and he gives it to him seven days.")
 UD^{XAM} *s mu - kan istarna ijattari* "One day goes by in between (and he gives [it] repeatedly [to him].)"
 KUB XLIV 61 obv. 3, 5-7 (CTH 461) ■. Bunde (1974: 18-19)

In this use, the Subject of *iqa-* no longer has the semantic function of Agent, the animate entity that controls the action of *iqa-*; see § 1.3. The same construction with a unit of time as Subject and the meaning "to go by, to pass" is more often found with *istarna* *pai-*, which is also accompanied by *-kan*; see § 3.2.12.

2.2.11 *İstarna arħa iqa-*

The combination *istarna arħa iqa-* "■ walk or march through, to pass through" is constructed with a constituent in the accusative and the particle *-kan*:⁴³

- (37-NH) ("and you do not fight the enemy.") *[nħiġma - ka] n*¹⁴ KUR = ma tneħ
 KUR = KA *istarna arħa iħanuri* "Or (if) the enemy marches through your country (and you do not fight him.)"
 KBo V 4 rev. 46-47 (CTH 67) Friedrich (1926: 68-69)
- (38-NH) *tukkatta - ma - kan* KUR¹⁵ *İstaluppa istarna arħa pāni* "The next morning I went through the land of Istaluppa (...) *nuskan kuitman*
 KUR¹⁶ *İstaluppa istarna arħa iġħixha* "While I was passing through the land of Istaluppa, (the Kabubban enemy and all the Kaška lands mobilized.)"
 KBo V 8 | 30, 31-33 (CTH 61.117A) ed. Götze (1933a: 150-151)

In (38-NH) *istarna arħa iqa-* and *istarna arħa pai-* "to go through, to pass through" are used as alternative expressions. The combination of local adverbs *istarna arħa* is also found with *uya-* governing the same construction with a constituent in the accusative and *-kan*. The function of the constituent in the accusative may be that of Object, see § 3.5. The problem of the meaning and the relation of these two local adverbs with the

⁴¹ See also van den Hout (1995: 219): "und du sollst Pallä zur Rechenschaft ziehen!"

⁴² The constituent in the accusative may have the function of Object with *iqa-*; see § 3.5.

⁴³ ■ KBo V 4 rev. 37-38 the particle *-kan* can be restored: *na - aħ - m[a - kan] mja - [a] - an* ĒRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.R[A.MEŠ KUR-KA] ijs-tar-na ar-ħa i-qa-a-ta-n "Or if troops (and) volunteers march through your country" (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 66-67) without *-kan*.

The deponent ija-

predicate is treated in the introduction to § 3.2.17 – 3.2.21.

There is one instance of *ištarna arha ija-* without the particle *-kam*:

- (39-NS) ("O Sungod, mighty king.") 4 *halhaltumari ukturi ištarna arha ijattari*
"You walk through the four eternal corners (with the Fears walking on
your right and the Terrors walking on your left.)"
KUB XXXI 127+ 158–59 (CTH 372) ed. Güterbock (1958: 240–241)

This example comes from a manuscript of the "Son of Mankind" version of the Hittite prayer to the Sungod. This text is part of a group of three prayers in which an older hymn to the Sungod has been incorporated (CTH 372, 373, 274), which may date back as far as the Old Hittite period.⁴³ The absence of the particle *-kam* in (39-NS) can be explained as an archaism.⁴⁴

2.2.12 *šer arha ija-*

The combination *šer arha ija-* is found twice in Hittite texts with a constituent in the accusative, once with *-kan* and once with *-šan*:⁴⁵

- (40-NH) ("Hanutti is young. He was never yet appointed by oracle to (join) a campaign for my lord") *nuskan kuit ḫšru paizzi ja kuit enus kan aštu nuga šer ar[hu] ijaddari* in whatever place he will go⁴⁶ and whatever place he may still pass by. ("For that reason I don't believe the story.")⁴⁷
KUB XIX 23 rev. II-9 (CTH 192) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 27–29)

- (41-NS) ("Let the ass urinate on them, let the ox defecate on them (=the words of sorcery)") DUŠIŠLŪA...1.0 = iši = šan [kuiš] *šer arha ijattari* "The man that passes by them, (let him spit on (them).)"
KUB XVII 27 III 12–15 (CTH 434.1) ed. Haas and Wegner (1988a: 194)

The same combination of the local adverbs *šer* and *arha* is attested with *pai-*, also with a constituent in the accusative all with a particle (*-aštu* or *-kan*);⁴⁸ see § 3.2.21. In these

⁴³ The prayers themselves are likely to have been composed in the Middle Hittite period. The manuscripts are all preserved in Middle and New Hittite copies. For the Old Hittite date of the hymn see Güterbock (1958, 1978), Carruba (1971: 222), Melchert (1977: 51, 75) and CHD (L-N: 343). The date of the individual manuscript was treated by Güterbock (1980: 42), Neu (1990: 148) and Melchert (1977: 54, 75).

⁴⁴ Other characteristics of the Old Hittite language are found in this text, for instance the genitive plural ending in *-an*, occurring once as a relic form in the MH original KBo XVI 25+ 1.81, ^{1.0}KUR-an (CTH 251.A) and the use of the particle *-aigu*, discussed in § 1.1.2.

⁴⁵ See Zuntz (1936: 55) with the translation "darüber bisweggeben".

⁴⁶ The translation of this difficult sentence was suggested to me by prof. Houwink ten Cate, who discussed the problem with prof. Güterbock. For other translations see CHD (L-N: 469) and van den Hout (1995: 202).

⁴⁷ See the treatment of this construction of *pai-* in § 3.1.1 5d (68-NH).

⁴⁸ This translation is similar to CHD (L-N: 469b) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 331). Different translations are found in CHD (P/I: 36), Hagenbuchner (1989: 27–29) and van den Hout (1995: 202).

⁴⁹ The problem of the function of the constituent in the accusative, possibly that of Object, is discussed in § 3.5.

Chapter 2

instances *ter arha ija-* has the same meaning as *ter arha pai-*, namely "to pass over, to pass by". An explanation of this translation is suggested in the introduction to § 3.2.17 – 3.2.21.

2.2.13 *arha ija- + andan ija-*

- (42-NH) *mahhan = ma = kan* ¹⁰⁰ Ašataz arha INA ¹⁰¹ Kargamis andan ijahhat
"While I was marching from Ašata into Kargamis, (Nanuzii, the
prince whom I had sent ahead to (deliver a) message to Nuyanza,
'Chief of the Wine', drove to me on the road.)"
KBo IV 4 II 67–70 (CTH 61.11SB) ed. Görze (1933a: 120–121)

In this example we find a combination of two constructions *arha ija-* with an expression of Origin and *-kan* and *andan ija-* with an expression of Direction (and possibly without *-kan*).¹⁰¹ The same combination of constructions with *arha* and *andun* is also attested with *pai-*; see § 3.2.22.¹⁰²

2.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate *ijs-*

In the sentences with local adverbs discussed in this section the predicate *ijs-* is always used in its main function as monovalent predicate and is never accompanied by an expression of Direction or Origin (§ 2.1.1). The fact that the local adverbs do not affect the construction or meaning of *ijs-* has been taken as an indication that they function outside the scope of the predicate. As in sentences without local adverbs, no sentence particles are employed when *ijs-* occurs with these independent local adverbs.

2.3.1 *arha + ijs-*

In § 2.2.2 two examples were discussed in which *arha* forms a unity with *ijs-*, which is constructed with an expression of Origin and accompanied by *-kan* and means "to go away from, to come forth from". In the following example, the beginning of a difficult section of the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard, the situation seems to be quite different. Here *ijs-* indicates the marching of two soldiers of a field battalion in a procession, one to the left and one to the right; see Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 53). This monovalent use of *ijs-* is not influenced by the presence of *arha* in this sentence, but *arha* simply seems to indicate the Manner in which they march in the procession, namely three IKU "apart" or "away" from each other. In contrast with the instances of dependent use of *arha* with *ijs-* (§ 2.2.2) no particle is found here:

¹⁰¹ There is only one fragmentary example of *andun* with *ijs-* (§ 2.4.1), but the similarity between *ijs-* and the motion verbs *pai-* and *qai-* in their use with local adverbs suggests that *andun ijs-* governs the same construction as *andun pai-* and *andun qai-* treated in § 3.2.2.

¹⁰² With the verbs studied in ch. 2–4 no instances are found of two constructions of a predicate with a local adverb that both require the presence of a sentence particle. Sentences with two sentence particles are treated by Neu (1993).

The deponent ija-

- (43-MH) ("The soldier who (is) of a field battalion keeps the peaceful (population) [lin]ed up to the sides. The left one keeps (it) lined up on the left and the right one keeps (it) lined up on the right.") *arha=ma=aš 3 IKU ija-a* "He (=the left one) marches three IKU away (from the right one)." IBoT 1 36 II 60-62 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 22-23)⁵³

2.3.2 *kattan + ija-*

In addition to its dependent use with *ijs-* (§ 2.2.4), the local adverb *kattan* also functions as an Adjunct of Accompaniment with the predicate *ijs-* indicating the person in the company *of* whom the Subject is on his way:

- (44-OH) ("But the following is (part) of his allotment: fifty breads, ten from each house.") 1.LÜ 1 MUNUS *katti+šti ičanta* "One man and one woman shall go with him." KBo XXII 1: 14' (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 46-47)
- (45-MH) ("Two spearmen [march], (...)") GAL 1.Ü MIŠŠUKUR : *ja=šmaš NIMGIRERIN MES+ja katti+šmi iqanta* "Both a chief *of* spear men and an army bailiff march with them." IBoT 1 36 II 47, 50 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 20-21)
- (46-NH) *ABU+JA+ja ANA ABI+JA lat̄hi GAM-arts pat ija[ta]* "and my father marched together with my grandfather on the campaign." IUB XIX 10 II 12 (C 40.II) ed. Götterbock (1956: 65)

The use of a local adverb as a host for an enclitic possessive pronoun, as for instance *katti+šti* and *katti+šmi* in (44-OH) and (45-MH), is a typical characteristic of the Old Hittite language. In later Hittite this construction is replaced by that of a local adverb and the dative of the enclitic personal pronoun, for instance *kattan + -ši* instead of *katti+šti*. In (45-MH) a combination of these two constructions is found.⁵⁴ In (46-NH) *kattan* governs the dative *ANA ABI+JA*. This dative can be considered as the Complement *of* *kattan* on noun phrase level (§ 1.2).

2.3.3 *perun + ija-*

The local adverb *perun* functions as an Adjunct *of Location* with *ijs-* indicating that the walking takes place "in front of, ahead of (a place or person)":

⁵³ Götterbock and van den Hout use the plural in the translation, because it is easier in English, but note that the text uses the singular throughout the section (1991: 53). The rest of this section is treated in § 3.3.1.

⁵⁴ Archi reads X ta-a-an É-uz "dix dans un deuxième temps, (donnés) par la maison". The translation "ten from each house" is derived from the reading X.TA.AM É-uz.

⁵⁵ This is often the case in Middle and New Hittite examples of this Old Hittite construction: see § 5.1, p. 139.

Chapter 2

- (47-NH) [nu-*tta* ...] ŠEŠ.MEŠ-aš *iyan peran ijantaru* "Let them walk in front [of you] like brothers."
KBo X 12 III 10' (CTH 49.II) ed. Freydank (1959–60: 363, 371)⁵⁶
- (48-NS) ("Kumarbi stood up") *nu-isi* "Impaluri([iš peran [ijattar]]) "and Impaluri went in front of him."
KUB XXXIII 102 II 18 (CTH 345.IC) ed. Götterbock (1951: 150–151)⁵⁷
- (49-NS) ("The blacksmiths bring in two ox heads of silver.") *perannisa*
LU.SAGILIS A *yaššanta ijattari* "In front (of them) walks the cup-bearer (all) dressed (up)."
KUB II 5 II 35–39 (CTH 612.4A) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 80–81)

In (48-NS) *peran* governs the dative -*si* "in front of him", but in (49-NS) the point of reference of *peran* is to be inferred from the context. In (47-NH) the pronoun -*tta* can be restored in the lacuna as the dative belonging to *peran*.⁵⁸

2.3.4 *appa* + *ija*-

In the following instance *appa* appears to be used instead of *appan* as an Adjunct of Location meaning "behind, in the back of" and governs the dative-locative ANA C⁵⁹*haluganni*; see § 2.3.5:

- (50-MH) ("The guards and the palace attendants march in three files. (...)" ANA C⁵⁹*haluganni* *ma-*at EGIR-pa | IKU *ijanta* "But they march one IKU behind the cart."
IBoT I 36 II 36, 38 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18–19)

A case of dependent use of *appa* is treated in § 2.2.8.

2.3.5 *appan* + *ija*-

The local adverb *appan* regularly functions as an Adjunct of Location with *ija*- indicating that the action of the verb takes place "behind or in the back of (a place or living being)":

- (51-NS) ("The patient is bathed") *n-as-EGIR-an ijattari* "and he walks behind (her)."
KUB IX 27+ I 14–15 (CTH 406) ed. Hoffner (1987: 272, 277)
- (52-lateNH) ("They drive the adorned sheep into the temple of the old priest(s).") LU.SANGA.GIBIL AN.NUSME⁶⁰ *haṣṣara=ja* ANA UDУ EGIR-an *ija< n>tari* "The new priest and the *haṣṣara*-women walk behind the sheep."
KUB XVII 35 I 24'–25' (CTH 525.2) ed. Carter (1962: 124, 138)

⁵⁶ Restorations from KUB XXXIII 98+ II 15–16 (MS B).

⁵⁷ In the following instance the construction *peran = set* can be restored: LU.MEŠ *haṣṣa=di* unwānat*š* *[pir]jan = set* *ijanta* KBo X 27 V 29–30 (CTH 649.1).

The deponent ija-

Like *peran* in § 2.3.2, *āppan* is attested with and without explicit point of reference in the dative-locative.⁵⁸ An instance of dependent use of *āppan* is treated in § 2.2.9.

2.3.6 *āppanda + ija-*

The local adverb *āppanda* also serves as Adjunct of Location with *ijs-* meaning "behind, in the back of":

- (53-NS) EGIR-anda DINGIR^{LDM} ijatta "The god goes behind."
KUB X 91 II 11 (CTH 669.3)

In this function the logographic writing EGIR-SU is used with *ijs-* from Old Hittite onwards:⁵⁹

- (54-OH) EGIR-[SU] ^Lmeneiaš ier[ta] "The meneiaš-man walks behind (him)." KBo XVII 43 I 10' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)

- (55-NS) [EGI]R-SU s̄mar ^LHADANI^L hejaläss-s-a [ijs]antari piran-s-ma [L]MES N|AR ^MSUS MES katreš-s-a [hui]jantes "The relative (by marriage) and the hejala-man march behind, while the singers and the kathri-women walk in front."
EUB LVIII 51 II 17-20 (CTH 670)

2.3.7 *andurza + ijs-* and *tapuša + ijs-*

In the following example *andurza* "inside" and *tapuša* "to the side, beside" are used as Adjuncts of Location with *ijs-⁶⁰*:

- (56-MH) n̄sat šarkanti andurza tapuša ijanta "They walk beside the defendant on the inside." IBoT 136 III 18-19 (CTH 362) ⁶¹ Götterbund and van den Hout (1991: 24-25)

The dative-locative *šarkanti* appears to be governed by *tapuša*.

2.4 Problematic or unclear instances

2.4.1 *andati (+) ijs-*

Unfortunately in the only example of the local adverb *andati* in combination with *ijs-* the context is broken:

⁵⁸ See also KBo II 8 III 12 ([] M^LSUS MES *haçvara s̄ ja* EGIR ijatari "and the haçvara-women walk behind." (CTH 519) and ibid. IV 4' [EGI]R-pa-an ijatari, with the spelling EGIR-pa-

⁵⁹ As shown by Kammerhuber (HW^L, A. 149), EGIR-SU (and the learned spelling *appan -šet*) may be used in the function of *āppanda*.

⁶⁰ See Boley (1989: 198), who translates this example as "they march inside around the s."

The deponent ija-

- (57-NS) *an-da-an i-ja-ah-ha-at* ["I went in [" KUB XV 12 IV 5' (CTH 590) ed. de Roos (1984: 230, 369)

2.4.2 *parijan ija-*

There is only one example of *parijan* with *ijsa-* and -*kan*:

- (58-NS) ("Gurparanzah shoots.") [*n]u-šši-skur GI-as ISTU G̃išBAN parijan*] MUŠEN-iš mān ijsattari "His arrow goes across from the bow like a bird (and he triumphs in shooting over 60 kings and 70 heroes.)" KUB XXXVI 67 II 21'-23' (CTH 362.1) ed. Götterbock (1938: 86-87)

In the CHD (P/2: 152) it is suggested that the expression of Direction "to the target" is to be supplied from the context. See example (176-MH) with *parijan* *pai-* and an expression of Direction + -*kan* in § 3.2.15.

2.4.3 *perun (+) āppa ija-*

(59-NH) is an example of the expression *perun āppa ija-* "to walk back and forth to, to go frequently to (?) plus an expression of Direction and without particle":⁶¹

- (59-NH) *nu ANA DINGIR MEŠ hūmāndaš perun EGIR-pa ijaḥjat* "I walked back and forth to all the gods." KUB XIV 10 I 20-21 (CTH 378) ed. Götze (1930a: 206-207)

In this example *perun* and *āppa* are used together, probably asyndetically coordinated, in a fixed idiomatic expression that literally means something like "to walk forth (and) back to". It is not entirely clear whether they form a unity *perun āppa* belonging to the predicate *ijsa-* or that we are dealing with a combination of two separate expressions *perun ijsa-* and *āppa ijsa-*. The combination *perun ijsa-* is not attested with an expression of Direction and the notion "to walk or go forward to" outside this combination with *āppa*. The same use of *perun āppa* is found with *pai-* and *ujsa-*; see § 3.4.7.

2.4.4 *āppa + šarā ijsa-*

Depending on the translation of (60-MH), we are either dealing with *āppa* in its use as Adjunct of Time meaning "once more, again", which is independent of the predicate *šarā ijsa-* (+ -*kan*) "to go up to", or with a combination of the constructions of *āppa ijsa-* "to go back to" and *šarā ijsa-* (+ -*kan*) "to go up to" occurring in the same sentence:⁶²

⁶¹ Other examples of *perun āppa ijsa-* can be found in KUB VI 45+ II 7-8 (CTH 381 A, Mughalli II), KUB XV 17+15 (CTH 585, NH) ed. Otten and Souček (1965: 16-17) with duplicate KUB XLVIII 116 I 5-6 and KUB XXII 70 obv. 8-9 et passim (CTH 566, NH) ed. Osbal (1978: 56-57).

⁶² Compare Götze's (1930b: 223-224) commentary on this expression: "Ich kann mir das nur als Asyndeton 'vor und zurück', 'hinein (und) heraus' denken".

⁶³ There are no (other) instances of *āppa ijsa-* with an expression of Direction.

Chapter 2

- (60-MH) (" [The enemies that were in (the country) " | *n=a* | = *kan kâša EGIR-pa*
| *jarâ* | [] *iandari* "See, they go up again (or: back up) to the []."
HKM 50: 8-10 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 212-213)

2.5 Summary

Besides its main function as monovalent predicate (2.1), two more predicate frames of the basic predicate *iia-* have been defined:⁶⁴

- (2.1) *iŋa-* "to be on one's way, to (be on the) march, to move, to walk" | SUBJECT
"A goal

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (2.2) <i>iqa-</i> "to be on the way to, be headed to" | SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT |
| | Agent Direction
inanimate |

- | | |
|---|---|
| (2.3) <i>iqa-</i> "to go a (certain) way" | SUBJECT + INTERNAL OBJECT
Agent Route along which |
|---|---|

The local adverbs that occur in sentences with *iqa-* have been divided into two groups, local adverbs belonging to the predicate and those functioning independent of it.¹³ When local adverbs belong to the predicate *iqa-*, they influence both the meaning and the construction of the predicate. The local adverbs *anda*, *arha*, *kasta*, *kattonda*, *sara*, *paru*, *appan*, *istarna*, *istarna arha*, *ter arha* are accompanied by a sentence particle, when they are dependent of *iqa-* (§ 2.2). Only in the case of *istarna iqa-* the construction is identical with the main construction of *iqa-*, but here the meaning of the predicate is affected by the presence of *istarna*. Independent local adverbs have no influence on the construction of the predicate *iqa-*, which in all of these cases is attested in its main, monovalent, use without sentence particle (§ 2.3).

In those instances where a local adverb can be shown to belong to the predicate, a new, derived predicate is formed, which has a construction of its own, but is based on the predicate *iia-* (§ 1.2, p. 18). With one local adverb, more than one derived predicate can be formed, each with a different meaning and construction. In its use with local adverbs *iia-* now has a parallel with *pai-*, then with *uya-* and then again with both verbs. This alternating correspondence with both *pai-* and *uya-* is possible, since *iia-*, in contrast with *pai-* and *uya-*, is neutral with regard to the point of view of the speaker.¹⁶ This possibility of comparison with *pai-* and *uya-* enables us to determine the construction and the meaning of a combination of a local adverb with *iia-*, even if it is rarely found. The following derived predicates are based on *iia-*:

⁶² An explanation of my presentation of the predicate frames can be found in § 1.2, p. 18.

⁶⁵ A table (5.1) showing the distribution of dependent and independent local adverbs with *ju-* can be found in § 5.1.

¹⁴ The verb *pui-* denotes a movement away from the speaker and *uuo-* a motion directed to the speaker. sec 8.3.0.

*The deponent *iqa-**

(2.4) <i>anda iqa-</i>	"to move or march into, to go (in)to" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle Agent Direction animate+inanimate
(2.5) <i>arqa iqa-</i>	"to go or march away from, to come forth from" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle Agent Origin inanimate
(2.6) <i>katta iqa-</i>	"to go or come down from" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT ⁴⁷ + sentence particle Agent Origin inanimate
(2.7) <i>kattan iqa-</i>	"to come (into (the presence of))" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction animate
(2.8) <i>kattunda iqa-</i>	"to move or march down into" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle Agent Direction inanimate
(2.9) <i>lurd iqa-</i>	"to walk up to, to go or come up to" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle Agent Direction inanimate
(2.10) <i>tarā iqa-</i>	"to come up from" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle Agent Origin ⁴⁸
(2.11) <i>parā iqa-</i>	"to move or march on to" SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction inanimate
(2.12) <i>parā iqa-</i>	"to go out to" SUBJECT+ COMPLEMENT + sentence particle Agent Direction ⁴⁹

⁴⁷ This construction is only attested in absolute use.

⁴⁸ Only in absolute use.

⁴⁹ Only in absolute use.

*The deponent *iqa*-*

- (2.13) *parq iqa-* "to come out of, to leave"
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Origin
 inanimate
- (2.14) *appa iqa-* "to move or march back from, to return from"
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Origin
 inanimate
- (2.15) *appan iqa-* "to go or come after, to pursue"
SUBJECT + OBJECT + sentence particle
Agent Patient
 animate
- (2.16) *iStama iqa-* "to go by, to pass"
SUBJECT + sentence particle
- (2.17) *iStama arha iqa-* "to walk through, to pass through"
SUBJECT + OBJECT + sentence particle
Agent Patient
 inanimate
- (2.18) *ber arha iqa-* "to pass over, to pass by"
SUBJECT + OBJECT + sentence particle
Agent Patient
 inanimate



CHAPTER 3

The verbs *pai-* "to go" and *uya-* "to come"

3.0 Introduction

In contrast with the deponent *ija-* treated in the second chapter, the active verbs *pai-* and *uya-* express the notion of movement in a certain direction. In origin *pai-* and *uya-* are "compound verbs", derived from the same verbal root '*h₁ei-*' as present in *ija-*, to which the prefix *pe-* "thither, forth" and *u-* "whither, back" are added.¹ The main difference between *pai-* and *uya-* can be described as a distinction in perception or point of view of the speaker. With *pai-* the movement denoted by the predicate is conceived as directed away from the speaker, whereas with *uya-* it is seen as directed towards the speaker. In contrast with *ija-* derived *sk*-verbs were formed on the basis of *pai-* and *uya-*. These verbs, *paišk-* and *ušk-*, as a rule only have medial forms.²

While I was working on this study, fascicle one of volume P of the CHD appeared, which contains the first elaborate description of the verb *pai-* (1994: 20–40). My description of the various uses of *pai-* greatly benefitted from this treatment and many of the examples cited can be found there. The Old Hittite examples of *pai-* and *uya-* are treated by Starke (1977: 32–34, 139–140 et passim), both in their use with and without local adverbs. Götzte already made valuable observations about the use of sentence particles with certain combinations of *uya-* and local adverbs in the index of his edition of the Annals of Muršili II (1933a: 317–318). Röley commented on the use of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uya-* in sentences with and without local adverbs as occurring in her corpus of Old Hittite and Middle Hittite texts (1989: 29–30, 242–245, 310–315 et passim).

Examples of "phraseological" *pai-* and *uya-* are not discussed in this chapter, since in this use a second verb, introduced by *pai-* and *uya-*, governs the main construction of the sentence.³ The various combinations of local adverbs with *pai-* and *uya-* occurring in the passages of bird, snake and KUR-oracles where the movements of the animals or entities are described have as a rule not been included, since the meaning of the oracular terms used in the observations is often unclear or uncertain.⁴

¹ See Friedrich (1930a: 146 and HE: § 144), Neu (1968b: 87), Oettinger (1979: 389–391) and Pulwé (HED, Vol 2: 328) with ref.

² See Neu (1968b: 86–88), noting one exception.

³ For this construction see Friedrich (HE § 312), Disterheft (1984), Dunkel (1985: 57–63), CHD (P/1: 23) and Neu (1995).

⁴ The only exceptions are instances where no other example of a particular combination of a local adverb with the verb *uya-* was available to me; see (178-NS) and (229-NS).

3.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs

The verbs *pai-* and *uya-* are widely attested in all phases of the language. Whereas *uya-* is both constructed with an expression of Direction and with an expression of Origin, the verb *pai-* is almost exclusively found with an expression of Direction and never with an expression of Origin.⁵

3.1.1 *pai-* and *uya-* + Subject + expression of Direction

The verbs *pai-* and *uya-* are both constructed with an expression of Direction denoting the place to or the person to whom the Subject goes.

- (61-OH) ("But when I [cam(e)] back to Iléša," I brought the man of Purušunda with me.") *mān tāmakišnu = ma pātzi* "However, when he goes to the inner room, (he will sit at (my) right, in front of me.)"
KBo III 22 rev. 76-79 (CTH 1A) ed. Neu (1974a: 14-15)
- (62-NH) ("This I accomplished in one year.") *MU-a-ni-s-ni ina KUR Azzi pātai*
"In the (next) year I went to Azzi."
KBo III 4 IV 34-35 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götz (1933a: 130-131)
- (63-NS) [*(mān = ya A) | NA*] ^{UML} *Nerik pāyanti* "When we go to the Stormgod of Nerik."
KBo III 7 IV 5-6 (CTH 32).A ed. Beckman (1982: 20)⁶
- (64-NS) ("But if some years have gone by) *ni LUGAL-uš laħħi u kūqapikkī pāwca* "and the king has gone nowhere on a campaign, (then no ritual takes place.)"
KUB XXVII 11 20-21 (CTH 712.A) ed. Lebrun (1976: 75, 86)
- (65-OH) *LUGAL-uš* ^{UML} *Hattusa DINGIR.DIDLU-uš aruganzi učt* "The king came to Hattusa to worship the gods, (but he left the old king there.)"
KBo XXII 2 rev. 13'-14' (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 12-13)
- (66-MB) ("[Report] to the governor [about the] man[er straightaway].") *ni* ^{UML} *KUR kuedani pēdi učz* "To which place the enemy comes, (that [place] —] to him.)"
KUB XXIII 77a, 26-27' (CTH 138.1) transl. von Schuler (1965: 119)
- (67-NH) ("Pibhuniyaš wrote me back as follows: 'I will not give anything back to you'") *mānn = a = ya = mi zaħħiħa uyaši* "If you will come to battle

⁵ Expressions of Direction and Origin governed by *pai-* and *uya-* are as a rule inanimate nouns. Exceptions will be noted.

⁶ The transcription of this sentence is cited in (150-OH), § 3.2.9.

⁷ In the duplicate KUB XI 66 IV 9 (MS 31) ^{UML} has been omitted.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

against me, (I will not line up for battle with you anywhere in my field
(and) land")

KBo III 4 III 79-82 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Göthe (1933a: 90-91)

The expression of Direction is as a rule an animate noun in the dative or an inanimate noun in the dative-locative. In (68-NH) we may have an instance of *pai-* with an accusative of Direction:

- (68-NH) ("Hanutti is young. He was never yet appointed by oracle to (join) a campaign for my lord.") *nu = kan kuit-aššu-paizzi = iš kuit = ma = kan aššu nüga ser ar[ha] iqaddari* to whatever place he will go' and whatever place he may still pass by. ("For that reason I don't believe the story.") KUB XIX 23 rev. 4-9 (CTH 192) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 27-29)⁸

Sometimes the Direction of *pai-* and *uya-* is not expressed and must be inferred from the context. Compare the following cases of absolute use of *pai-* and *uya-*:⁹

- (69-NH) ("[A]s soon as I reached Haltuša, (...)") *ni "Tarhiniš ištu ERIN.MES [ANŠE.] KUR.RA.MES pait* "Tarhiniš went with troops (and) charioteers. (He took the city of Lakku, the Lakku in which they killed Apurtuk.)" KBo II 5 IV 4, 6-9 (CTH 61.II 10) ed. Göthe (1933a: 190-193)
- (70-NH) ("If, however, you do not seize him and hand him over to me,") *ni e ga uyan ni qasāna qadī KUR = KT-NU arha harnikni* "I will come and completely destroy you along with your land." KBo V 13 1 7-9 (CTH 68.C) ed. Friedrich (1926: 112-113)

The constituents DINGIR.DIDLU-as *aruyanzi* in (65-OH), *lalhi* in (64-NS), and *zalylja* in (67-NH) indicate the Purpose of the movement denoted by *pai-* and *uya-*. These expressions of Purpose do not occur often enough to make a reasonable case for the assumption that in their use with an expression of Direction *pai-* and *uya-* require an additional expression of Purpose to form a complete, meaningful sentence.

The following predicate frames can be defined for the basic predicates *pai-* "to go to" and *uya-* "to come to":

- (3.1a) *pai-* "to go to"

SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT

Agent Direction
animate+inanimate

- (3.1b) *uya-* "to come to"

SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT

Agent Direction
animate+inanimate

⁸ See CHD (L-N: 469b) and Puhyel (HED, Vol 3: 331). For the accusative of Direction in Hittite see Friedrich (HF § 201a), Neu (1980b: 30 n. 67) and Josephson (1981: 101-102). The meaning "to pass" for this instance of *paizzi* suggested in CHD (P/1, 36) is not otherwise found with the basic predicate *pai-*, but seems to be reserved for *urha pait* or one of its combination with a second local adverb; see ad § 3.2.17-3.2.21.

⁹ For the translation of the rest of this passage see § 2.2.12 where it is cited as (40-NH).

¹⁰ See also the instances of "absolute use (without goal expressed)" of *pai-* in CHD (P/1: 22-23).

Chapter 3

3.1.2 *uya-* + Subject + expression of Origin

The predicate *uya-* can also be constructed with an inanimate noun in the ablative case denoting the Origin of the movement indicated by *uya-*. In this construction *uya-* means "to come from, to leave":¹¹

- (71-OH) ("On the second day there are no birds and animals. The foreman of the ALIZANNU's is sitting on the *marāū*.) *kursaš E-irca DINGIR.MEŠ uenzi*
"The gods come from the house of the *kursaš*."
KBo XXV 12 + KBo XX 5+ B 17'-18' (CTH 627) transl. Singer (1984: 34)
and Neu (1980: 32)

The expression of Origin may also indicate the person with whom the movement of *uya-* originates. In this case the dative case is used, since this is the appropriate case to describe a movement away from an animate noun.¹² There seem to be no examples of the basic predicate *uya-* with a single expression of Origin in the dative case, but we do have an example with two expressions of Origin in partitive apposition, the dative (*taknaš*)¹³ UTU-*i* "from the Sungoddess of the earth" and the ablative KA×U-*az* "from the mouth":¹⁴

- (72-NS) *mān : kan taknaš : ma ^UTU-*i* HUL-*lu* KA×U-*az* uizzi* "When evil comes
out of the mouth of the Sungoddess of the earth (and she attributes
something to these in (their) place, let these grandmothers and grand-
fathers put forward the substitutes and speak (thus).)"
■UB VII 10 17-11 (CTH 448.4) ed. Kunimé (1967: 130)

The term partitive apposition is normally used to describe the use of two constituents in the same case form, the first of which designates the whole and the second a part of the whole, instead of putting the first noun in the genitive case and the second in the case that is required by the predicate.¹⁵ Although *taknaš* UTU-*i* and KA×U-*az* in (72-NS) do not coincide in case form they have the same semantic function with the predicate. They both serve as expression of Origin, whereby the dative (*taknaš*) UTU-*i* designates the whole and the ablative KA×U-*az* a part of the whole. As noted in § 1.1.1, the use of the partitive apposition is still restricted in Old Hittite, but becomes increasingly popular in later Hittite, at the expense of the construction with a genitive Attribute. Whereas in (72-NS) the partitive apposition *taknaš* UTU-*i* KA×U-*az* is preferred, (73-OH+) below provides us with an instance of the construction with an attributive genitive "UTU-*yaš-ya* E-*az*" "From the temple of the Sungod":

- (73-OH+) *hāš nu knāš uyašši suppaz-ya uyašši nu-ya kuēz suppaz* "Soap,
where are you coming from? I come from the holy (place). From what

¹¹ This is in conformity with Starke's theory (1977) that in Old Hittite the dative fulfills the functions with animate nouns that the allative, locative and ablative have with inanimate nouns; see § 1.1.1 with n. 17.

¹² The use of the particle -*kan* with *uya-* is exceptional and will be explained in § 3.1.5. An example of a single expression of Origin in the dative is attested with *ayaš arha uya-* in (NS-180), § 3.2.16.

¹³ See Friedrich (HE: § 213).

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

holy (place)? (From the cult room (*zaharittenna-*). From what cult room?)” ¹³ UTU-*uya*-*ga* *ku*-*az* *nu*-*ya* *ku*₂-*z* “From the temple of the Sungod. From what Sungod? (From the one whose statue is new, whose chest is new, whose (head) is new, (and) whose penis (lit. manhood) is new.)”

KBo XXI 22: 22'-26' (CTH 820.4) ■ Kellerman (1978: 200, 202) and Hoffner (1995b: 104)

The phrase *nu*-*ya* *ku*₂-*z* “UTU-*az* in (73-OH+) was cited by Starke (1977: 101) as one ■ the exceptional instances of an animate entity in the ablative case. It is possible that “UTU-*az* is treated as an inanimate noun, since it refers to the statue of the Sungod, *ēšri-šet* “his statue”, described in the answer to the question *nu*-*ya* *ku*₂-*z* “UTU-*az*.

For the basic predicate *uya-* a second predicate frame can be formulated:

(3.2) <i>uya-</i> “to come from”	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Origin
	animate+inanimate

We sometimes find a combination of the constructions of *uya-* with an expression of Origin and an expression of Destination, but these instances are remarkably rare:¹⁴

(74-NS)	<i>mān LUGAL-iiš hamešhi</i> ¹⁵ <i>Tahurpaza</i> <i>INA EZEN</i> , <i>ANTAHŠUM</i> “ ¹⁵ KU-BABBAR-ii <i>uiczi</i> “If in spring the king comes from Tihurpa to Hattusa for the ANTAHŠUM festival, as soon as ■ arrives at Tippuga, the tent and the stele have been placed (there) already.”
	KUB X 18.1.1-5 (CTH 594.1)

3.1.3 *pai-* + Subject

The predicate *pai-* is also found with a unit of time as Subject and the meaning “to go by, to pass”:¹⁶

(75-OH+)	<i>numasiēšiš MU</i> ■ A <i>pāi</i> “How many years have passed (and [how many] have run (by))?”
	KUB I 16 III 44-45 (CTH 6) ed. Hoffner (1995b:100) ¹⁶

In this use *pai-* is monovalent requiring a Subject constituent. Unlike in the other predicate frames of *pai-*, this Subject is inanimate and does not function as the Agent that controls the action of *pai-*; see § 1.3:

¹³ See also *mān LUGAL-ii lalghas* ¹⁶ *INA* *EZEN*, *nuntarrijaššoš* ¹⁷ *URU* ‘Hattudi *uiczi* “If the king comes from a trip in autumn, from Armina to Hattusa for the nuntarrijaššo festival” KUB XXV 12 VI 9-13 (CTH 626, NS) and partially restored: *mān* ¹⁸ *KUR* ¹⁹ *Hatišti pittarjanca* *INA KUR* ²⁰ ‘Kaška *takhabu* *URU-ja* *uiczi* “If a refugee comes from Hatti to Kaška-land, to an allied city” KUB XXIII 77+: 52’ (CTH 138.1, MH) transl. von Scheler (1965: 120).

¹⁵ See the examples cited by Neu (1968a: 65 + n. 22) and CHD (P/I: 38). See also *ištama* *pai-* “to go by, to pass” in § 3.2.12.

¹⁶ Differently Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 14-15);

Chapter 3

In {76-NS} *pai-* has a slightly different nuance, but also in this case there seems to be no emphasis on the Direction:

- (76-NS) *n-at ēṣta SIG.-in paiddu=(u)at SIG.-in* "It was well, (so) let it go well
 (and these things further | —)'"
 KUB XLIV 4+ rev. 17 (CTH 767.4) ed. Beckman (1983: 176–177, 190–191)

3.1.4 *pai-* and *uya-* + internal Object

Like *iya-*, the predicates *pai-* and *uya-* are attested with an accusative of the internal Object in the expression KASKAL-an *pai-* "■ go a (certain) way" and KASKAL-an *uya-* "to come a (certain) way":¹⁷

- (77-OH+) (May it (=the anger etc. of Telipinu) not go into the fruitful field, garden or forest.") *taknal* = at "UTU-an KASKAL-an paiddu "Let it go the way of the Sungoddess of the earth." KUB XVII 10 IV 12-13 (CTH 324.1A) translit. Laroche (1965: 97), transl. Hoffner (1990: 12).

- (78-NS) KASKAL.-an ^zma k[uin] iqantari nu KASKAL.-[ar kuin] uyanzi "The way they (= the winds) are to ~~go~~ and the way they come. (those) I, 1AMMA, (king of heaven, allot to the gods.)"
KUB XXXIII 112+ III 10-12 (CTH 343.1A) translit. Laroche (1968: 34),
transl. Hoffner (1990: 44)

This construction with an accusative as internal Object is described in more detail in § 2.1.3. For this use of *pai-* and *uno-* we can enter the following predicate frames:

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (3.4a) <i>pai-</i> "to go a (certain) way" | SUBJECT +
Agent | internal OBJECT
Route along which' |
| (3.4b) <i>ma-</i> "to come a (certain) way" | SUBJECT +
Agent | internal OBJECT
Route along which' |

3.1.5 Use of sentence particles in sentences without local adverbs

As a rule no sentence particles are found with the basic predicate *pai-* and *ngai-*. If sentence particles occur with *pai-* and *ngai-*, it is often in cases of phraseological use, where the particles preceding or attached to *pai-* and *ngai-* belong to the construction of the main predicate introduced by *pai-* or *ngai-*.¹⁵ There are, however, exceptions where

¹⁷ For other examples of KASKAL-*an pot*, see CHD (P/I: 24–25).

¹⁸ See the observations about the use of sentence particles with *pai-* in the CHD (P/1: 26) and the remarks about phraseological use of *pai-* and *aya-* in § 3.0 with n. 3. See also Boje's remark that *iya-*, *pai-* and *mu-* have identical use of particles (1989: 187).

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

the particle belongs to the construction **not** *pai-* and *uya-*. In all of these cases the basic predicate *pai-* and *uya-* seem to be used instead of one of the combinations of *pai-* or *uya-* and a dependent local adverb that are accompanied by a sentence particle (§ 3.2ff). These exceptions can be described as cases of *simplex pro composito*.¹⁹ It is remarkable that all instances are found in Old Hittite texts or in later copies of festival texts and rituals, the composition of which may date back to the Old Hittite period.²⁰

pai- + -kan or -jan and *uya-* + -kan are used instead of *anda* *pai-* "to go into, to enter" and *anda* *uya-* "to come into, to enter" treated in § 3.2.1:

- (79-MS) ("As this clay does not go back to the claypit (...)" *išnat-s ma-s ya-s kan*
kāš DINGIR MEŠ NIND[(A] karši ([p])a[iz]zi kēduš-a=ya-[ſ]-kan²¹
idāluš lālaſ ūeškki lē paizzi "and this dough does not go into the
 thick-bread of the gods, **not** also no evil tongue go into their body."
 2Mašt. III 3. 5-7 (CTH 404.2A) ed. Jakob-Rost (1953: 356-359)

Here we seem to have an example of *pai-* with two expressions of Direction in partitive apposition, the dative *kēduš* "to these (offerants)" and the dative-locative *ūeškki* "to the body".²²

- (80-NS) *parašnāyak-s kan* "¹⁰SAGI-Anas" *nizzi* "The cupbearer 'of squatting'
 comes in. (Sitting, the king and queen drink (to) the god Tahpiltand.)"
 KUB II 3 113-15 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 62)

pai- -kan and *uya-* + -asta or -kan are used instead of *arha* *pai-* "to go away from, to leave" or *parā* *pai-* "to go out of, to leave" and *arha* *uya-* "to come out of, to leave" or *parā* *uya-* "to come out of, to leave"; see § 3.2.3 and 3.2.8:

- (81-NS) ("The chief of guards goes and places the silver *zau* next to the king.
 He walks in front of the priest. The priests rise. They take the hearth
 in front." *t=asta pānzi* "Then they go out."
 KUB II 3 141-46 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 63)

- (82-NS) *mān-s ušta LUGAL-iiš¹¹"ZALAM.GAR-az nizzi* "When the king comes
 out of the tent, (he takes his stand near the hearth, at a basin with
mariyan-beer.)"
 KUB II 3 II 11-14 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 64)

¹⁹ For instances of the same feature with *dō*, see (288-NH) in § 4.2.4 and (298-NH) in 4.2.6.

²⁰ See the examples of *pai-* with particle in CHD (P/1: 26).

²¹ In a manuscript of the first version of this *Masitego*-ritual the particle -kan is used instead of -jan: *kēduš-a-s ya-s kan ANA 2 EN.SÍSKUR idāluš tEME-ai NI.TE-zi QATANMA lē paizzi* "In the same way let also no evil tongue go into the body of these two patients." KUB XV 39 + KUB XII 59 II 19-20; see CHD (P/1: 22, 26).

²² The same construction is found in KUB XV 39 + KUB XII 59 II 19-20 cited in the previous footnote.

²³ Probably a special type of cupbearer whose task is to squat down. See Neu (1982: 118-119) with references.

Chapter 3

- (83-NS) *mân = kan taknaš = ma* "UTU-i HUL-lu KA×U-ač uizzî" "When evil comes out of the mouth of the Sungoddess of the earth."
 KUB VII 10 I 7-8 (CTH 448.4) ed. Kummel (1967: 130)
- uya-* + *-ašta* or *-kan* instead of *šarâ uya-* "to come up"; see § 3.2.7.²⁴
- (84-OH) "(If cattle go onto a field and the owner of the field finds them, he may hitch them up for one day.)" *mân = ašta MUL.HLA-iš ienzi* "If the stars come (up), (he must drive them back to their lord.)"
 KBo VI 2+ IV 12'-13' (HG I § 79, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 42-43), transl. Hoffner (1963: 66) and (1995: 227)
- (85-NS) *takkuš = kan mân leššallaš uizzî* "If a leššalla-star comes (up) (and its h̄appam̄tuqatār shines very brightly.)"
 KUB VIII 16: 7-9 + KUB VIII 24 rev. 8-10 (CTH 535.1); see CHD (L-N: 72)

3.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate *pai-* and *uya-*

The local adverbs in the examples of this section influence the meaning of *pai-* and *uya-* and in some cases also affect the construction of the predicates. In the preceding chapter about *iqa-*, we saw that dependent local adverbs add a dimension of direction to the motion indicated by the basic predicate (§ 2.2). Many of the dependent local adverbs found with *iqa-* are attested in similar constructions with *pai-* and *uya-*, verbs that already express a movement directed to or from a place or person in their use without local adverbs. The influence of these local adverbs on the meaning of *pai-* and *uya-* is that they specify or modify the direction of the motion denoted by the predicate as going into (*anda*, *andam*), down (*kattu*), up (*šara*) out, on (*parū*) or back (*āppa*) to a place, away (*arlyā*), down (*kattu*), up (*šara*), back (*āppa*) from *in* out of (*parū*), across (*parranda*, *parijan*), through or past (*arlyā*, *istarna arlyā* etc) a place, to (*anda*, *kattu*, *menahyanda*) or after (*āppan*, *āppanda*) a person. Local adverbs can also affect the construction of the predicate. In combination with certain local adverbs *pai-* governs an expression of Origin (e.g. *arha*), with others *pai-* and *uya-* are constructed with an accusative, possibly with the function Object (e.g. *istarna arlyā*) or an expression of Location (e.g. *peran arha*), constructions that are not found with the basic predicates. The same local adverbs that are accompanied by sentence particles with *iqa-* are also responsible for the use of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uya-*, in which a few can be added that do not occur with *iqa-*.

3.2.1 *anda poi-* and *anda uya-*

The combinations *anda poi-* and *anda uya-* are constructed with an expression of Direction:

²⁴ See also *takkuš = ŠIN uizzî n = aš* GE6.13c "If the Moongod comes (up) and he becomes black" KUB VIII 27 left edge 11-2 (CTH 569.2).

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

anda pai- "to go into, to enter, to go (in) in":

- (86-OH) "[*[if] they catch a fri[ee man at the ou]iset*]²⁵ *and -zi*[(*n parna nāgi paizzi*)] "and he has not yet entered the house." KBo VI 2+ IV 37' (HG I § 93, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 46–47),²⁶ transl. Hoffner (1995a: 228)
- (87-OH) ("Then we go out."²⁷ [I place these in the forecourt."] *yef[-sa] u]amuna anda [p]aizani* "We go in again." KBo XVII 1+ I 20'-22' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 20–21), translit. Neu (1980a: 6)
- (88-OH+) ("(The deity) Andalija went in (...) | and [I] a *kurtali* he took.") "*UTU-xan DUMU-as anda pa[i]*" "The son of the Sungoddess went in." KUB XII 63+ rev. 19, 22 (CTH 412.3)
- (89-OH+) ("I will call the soul of the person.") *u-sat-ke-pa anda p[ā]ir* "They went in to him (and sei[zed] him.)" KUB XII 63 obv. 18' – KUB XXXVI 70; 7 (CTH 412.3)
- (90-MH) ("Whoever) flees [for the army of His majesty]") [*a]na lu.ME\$* "*Pahuya-mazak-kut anda puit*" "and goes (in) to the people of Pahuya, ([they will hand] him [over, each of them].)" KUB XXIII 72+ rev. 16–17 (CTH 146) transl. Gurney (1948: 36)
- (91-MH+) ("[...] the army [of the] Gašga [slew.]") *namma-uzta KUR-zaš-sa anda pāi[n]* "Then I went also into (their) countries." KUB XXIII 11 III 20–22 (CTH 142.2A) ed. Carruba (1977: 160–161)

The combination *anda pai-* mostly governs a noun in the allative or dative-locative denoting "the place into which" the movement is directed. Examples of this construction already occur in Old Hittite texts. In texts of later date *anda pai-* is also attested with a noun in the dative case indicating a human being. This construction of *anda pai-* with an animate expression of Direction meaning "go (in) a person", may have developed from its more common use with an inanimate noun in the locative, in which case it is to be understood as "to go into an unspecified location to a person"; see (89-OH+). Von Schuler (1957: 18) already noted that in the context of a treaty or instruction text this use of *anda pai-* has the connotation "to join the party of, to seek refuge among"; see (90-MH) and (103-lateNH) in § 3.2.2. Example (87-OH) is an instance of absolute use where the Direction of the movement is not explicitly mentioned, but can be supplied from the context. Except for example (86-OH), where the particle *-zi* is used, the Old Hittite examples of *anda pai-* do not have a sentence particle.²⁸ In later texts *anda pai-* is

²⁵ Following Hoffner *tapešni* has been translated as "at the outset". See also Friedrich's translation "vorher" and differently Starke (1977: 152).

²⁶ The restorations are from KBo VI 3+ IV 35–36 (MS B).

²⁷ The transcription of this sentence is cited in (138-OH), § 3.2.8.

²⁸ See (87-OH) and the OH examples of *anda pai-* cited by Starke (1977: 139–140).

as a rule accompanied by a sentence particle, in most cases *-kan*, less frequently *-ašta* or *-šan*.²⁹ In (88-OH+) and (89-OH+), passages from a later copy of an Old Hittite ritual, we even find the particles *-an* and (*a*)*pa* with *anda* *pai-*.³⁰ A case of independent *anda* with *pai-* is discussed in § 3.3.1.

anda uya- "to come into, to enter":

- (92-OH) ("[The king (goes) out(side)]") ¹¹ MESMUHALDIM *anda uenzi* "The cooks come in."
KBo XVII 11+ KBo XX 12 IV 24 (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 34–35), translt. Neu (1980a: 68)
- (93-MH) ("If **he** goes across to the land of Mount Šakkaddunuya, (or) if he perchance turns back.") *n-sati-kan KUR-ja anda uicci* "he will come into the country."
HKM 4b: 8–12 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 200–201)

Example (92-OH), a case of absolute use with omission of the expression of Direction, is the only instance of *anda uya-* in an Old Hittite original. The Direction **in** *anda uya-* is always indicated by an inanimate noun in the allative or dative-locative. In the Old Hittite example no sentence particle is used, but in later texts *anda uya-* is accompanied by the particle *-kan*.³¹

3.2.2 *andan pai-* and *andam uya-*

The use of the focal adverb *andan* with *pai-* and *uya-* is very similar to that of *anda* described in the previous section. The expression of Direction is with *andan pai-* and *andam uya-* usually an inanimate noun.³²

andan pai- "to go into, to enter":

- (94-NH) ("The next morning I went through the land of Ištaluppa") *nu iNA KUR* ¹¹ *Takkugahina andan pīan* "and I went into the country of Takkugahina."
KBo V 8 I 30–31 (CTH 61.117A) ed. Götze (1933a: 150–151)
- (95-NH) ("I went across to the land of Arzaya.") *nu iNA* ¹¹ *Apāša ANA URU* ^{11M} *s1* ¹¹ *Uhhazitūš andan pīan* "(Then) I went into Apāša, the city of Uhhazitūš."
KBo II 4 II 28–30 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 50–51)

andam uya- "to come into, to enter":

²⁹ In oracles, rituals or festival texts *anda* *pai-* occasionally occurs without a sentence particle; see § 3.2.2.

³⁰ See CHD (B/1, 27) and Cartlidge (1964: 420).

³¹ In oracles or rituals the sentence particle is sometimes omitted; see also § 3.2.2.

³² See the exception (Id2-lateNH) explained below.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

- (96-OH+) *mān=ma LUGAL andan parna uizzi* "But when the king enters the house, (the Throne says to the Eagle: 'Come, I send you to the sea')."
 KUB XXIX 1 150-51 (CTH 414.A) ed. Kellenman (1980: 12, 27), transl. Goetze (ANET: 357)
- (97-NH) ("I came up from the land ~~to~~ Tegaramma") *nu ina kur¹³ Tegaramma andan uyanun* "and I came into the land of Tegaramma."
 KBo IV 4 III 18-19 (CTH 61.IISB) ed. Götz (1933a: 124-125)

In contrast with *anda* *pai-* and *anda* *uya-*, the combinations *andan* *pai-* and *andan* *uya-* are not accompanied by a sentence particle, although they share the same construction and are used with the same meaning. This remarkable difference in use of sentence particles was already observed by Götz (1933a: 317) with regard to the use of *anda* *uya-* and *andan* *uya-* in the Annals of Muršili II.¹⁴ In parallel versions or duplicate manuscripts of the same text *andan* *pai-* is sometimes found alternating with *anda* *pai-* and *andan* *uya-* with *anda* *uya-*:

- (98-OH+) ("In the dark earth are iron *pali*-vessels. Their lids are of lead.")
kuit¹⁵ kūn andu paizzi n=at¹⁶ kan namma surū ul¹⁷ uizzi "What goes into these vessels) does not come up again. (It perishes therein.)"
 KUB XXXIII 8 (II) 7-10 (CTH 324.2D) translit. Lancke (1965: 103-104), transl. Hoffner (1990: 39)
- (99-OH+) *kuit andan palzzi n=at¹⁸ namma surū ul¹⁹ uizzi* "What goes into these vessels) does not come up again. (It perishes therein.)"
 KUB XVII 10 IV 16-17 (CTH 324.1A) translit. Lancke (1965: 97), transl. Hoffner (1990: 27)

In some of these cases the distinction in the use of sentence particles is abandoned altogether so that we find *anda* *pai-* / *uya-* without a sentence particle or *andan* *pai-* / *uya-* with a particle:

- (100-NS) ("One sheep they send to the Old Woman. They fill (lit: draw) two goblets.") *n=at andan U[RU-i]a uit* "They come into town." (...) and he washes himself.)"
 KUB XXIV 9 IV 18-19, 20 + KBo XII 126 IV 4-5, 6 (CTH 402.A) ed. Jakob-Rost (1972: 54-55) with corrections by Neu (1974c: 266)
- (101-NS) (She breaks one container.) *n=at anda URU-sja uyanzi* "They come into town. (She puts wheat, a little barley, *palša*-loaves,¹⁹ a bow and three arrows in a basket.)"

¹⁴ Götz (1933a: 317) translated *andan uya-* as "sich begeben nach, Aufenthalt nehmen in". In (96-OH+), however, *andan uya-* clearly means "to go into, to enter" and also in (97-NH) the king seems to go into the land of Tegaramma, before ~~to~~ reaches the city of Tegaramma itself.

¹⁵ The forth *uit* is possibly a mistake for *uyang* occurring in (101-NS). See Jakob-Rost (1972: 75).

¹⁶ Jakob-Rost (1972: 38 n. 22) and the CTH (P2: 204) respectively transliterate NINDA *pa-ut*, *ku-ut* and NINDA *pa-al-su-us*, a bread name not otherwise attested. Maybe it is possible to read here a PA-AS-SU-US

Chapter 3

KUB XXIV 11 II 22'-24' (CTH 402.C) ed. Jakob-Rost (1972: 38-39)

- (102-lateNH) ("If ev[e(r)] evil [is done] against His majesty (...)") [nu=k(an)t-a-m (ēdani)] kuedanikki andan paiti(en) "and you go (in) to anybody else."
KUB XXVI I+I 17, 19-20 (CTH 255.2A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 9)¹⁶
- (103-lateNH) andas kan tamēda[ni lē kuedanikki] paitieni "Do not go (in) to anybody else."
KUB XXVI I+I 25-26 (CTH 255.2A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 9)¹⁷

Examples (100-NS) and (101-NS) are found in duplicate manuscripts of the *Atti*-ritual and (103-lateNH) is a repetition of the stipulation of (102-lateNH) in the same paragraph of the Instruction to Eunuchs. (102-lateNH) is the only instance where *andam* paiti governs an animate noun in the dative case, but this is a familiar construction of *anda* paiti, especially in treaties and instructions, where it has the connotation "to join the party of, to give one's allegiance to"; see § 3.2.1.

3.2.3 *arha* paiti- and *arha* uga-

The local adverb *arha* is widely used with *pai-* and *uga-* resulting in various constructions. In § 1.1.2 we saw that according to Götze (1933b: 29, 31?) *arha* with -kan means "away", but without -kan has the meaning "heim". Götze's idea was confirmed by Zuntz stating that -kan is used "heim wörtlichen Gebrauch von *arha*, soweit es 'weg' heißt, während es beim Übertragenen Gebrauch fehlt" (1936: 107-109).¹⁸ Kammerhuber rightly added the restriction that Götze's rule for the translation of *arha* only applies to its use with motion verbs that are formed with the prefix *pe-* and *u-* "hin" und "her" (HW¹, A: 259, 263-273). Götze's observation indeed holds for the use of *arha* with *pai-* and *uga-*, but not for *arha ija-* (§ 2.2.2). The presence or absence of -kan with these predicates, however, is not only a matter of a different translation of *arha*, but corresponds with a different construction. The particle -kan is found when *arha* paiti- and *arha* uga- are constructed with an expression of Origin and is absent when they govern an expression of Direction:

arha paiti- "to go away from, to leave" + expression of Origin and -kan:

- (104-NH) (He also [took many] prisoners(s) and brought them back to Šamuha.") namata-kan i[šu-ja]¹⁹ Šamuhyaz arha paiti "Then my father went away from Šamuha."
KUB XIX 11 19'-11' (CTH 40.IID) ed. Götterbock (1956: 63)

¹⁶ "four axes" and accordingly in KBo X 41: 1' (MS B), [4 PA-S] U-US] and in KUB XXIV 10 II 2' (MS B): 4 PA'-S[U-US].

¹⁷ With restorations from duplicate KUB XXVI 8 (MS B).

¹⁸ With restorations from duplicate KUB XXVI 8 (MS B).

¹⁹ Accordingly she divided her evidence of *arha* paiti- and *arha* uga- into a section "weggehen" and a section "heimkommen" respectively "heimkommen" (1936: 18-19, 25-26).

The verb paī- and uyo-

- (105-NS) (As they dye this red-brown skin blood red,") *nu = s̄i = kan i[.sha]ryātar urha ul paizzi* "and the blood-redness never leaves it, (let the oath-gods seize you in the same way.") *nu = ūmaš = at = kan arha lē paizzi* "Let it not go away from you." KBo VI 34+ III 47- IV 3 (CTH 427.A) ed. Oettinger (1976: 14-15)³⁹

The expression of Origin is mostly an inanimate noun in the ablative (e.g. ⁴⁰ *Samuhaz* in (104-NH)), but as shown in (105-NS) occasionally a dative of an animate noun may occur in this position (-s̄i, ūmas̄). Note that in (105-NS) the enclitic personal pronoun -s̄i, always a dative, is used to refer to an inanimate noun (the neuter *kī* *KUŠ.SA_{s̄i}*).⁴¹

arha uyo- "to come out of, to leave" + expression of Origin and -kan:⁴²

- (106-NH) ("Uh̄bzili died in the sea, but his sons parted from each other. One (of the sons) remained in that (litt: the) same sea.") *I-aš = maškan "Tapalazunaušiš amaz arha uit* "the other, Tapalazunaušiš, came out of the sea." KBo III 4 II 52-54 (CTH 611.A) ed. Götz (1933a: 60-61)

- (107-MH+) ("The deportee who is quartered in the country, see to his needs copiously with seed(s), cattle (and) sheep (...).") *aruyalaš = aš taškkān kuiš URU-aš arha uizzī* "But the deportee who leaves your city (, who-ever remains on his place, also provide seeds for him.)" KUB XIII 2 III 36-37, 38-40 (CTH 261.A) ed. von Scheler (1957: 48)

In (107-MH+) *arha uyo-* governs two expressions of Origin in partitive apposition, the animate noun -aš in the dative and the ablative *KUR-ač* in the ablative. See the discussion of the partitive apposition with the basic predicate *uyo-* in § 3.1.2.⁴³

In the following example *arha uyo-* + -kan is used with the notion "to come forth, to appear":⁴⁴

- (108-MH) [ā] [*appa*] = *maškan* "Attariššijaš *ni*" ⁴⁵ *Ahhijā arha uit* "Later, however, Ahhijā the man of Ahhijā appeared (and sought to kill you, Maddugalla.)" KUB XIV 1+ obv. 60 (CTH 147) ed. Götz (1927: 14-15)

This use of *arha uyo-* is comparable with that of *arha iyo-* "to come forth" in (22-MH), § 2.2.2. In the latter example an expression of Origin is present, whereas (108-MH) is a case of absolute use, where the Origin is to be restored from the context. From a

³⁹ See also CHD (P1: 30).

⁴⁰ For this use of -s̄i see Götterbock (1983) and the discussion of (294-NS) in § 4.2.4.

⁴¹ As noted by Zuntz (1936: 108), there are a few exceptions to the rule that *arha uyo-* with an expression of Origin is always accompanied by the particle -kan. See e.g. *min i[.š] Nuhajana arha uyaueš* "When we left Nuhajana, (we went and rode at a gallop to Ilanzura)." KBo III 60 III 10'-11' (CTH 171, OH+) ed. Götterbock (1936: 108-109).

⁴² Another example is *ANA DINGIR^{L/M} = kar kanči giniupat; arha uyaueš* "You, who came forth from the knee of the deity" KUB XV 1 II 29, 30 (CTH 584, NH) ed. de Roos (1984: 187, 327).

⁴³ In (108-MH) *appa = ma* functions as a connector introducing a new paragraph and as such it is independent of the contents of the sentence. See § 1.1.1, p. 9-10 and CHD (L-N: 97).

literal translation "the man of Ahhiya came out of (Ahhiya or his native town)" the above translation "the man of Ahhiya appeared" is derived.

arha-pai- and arha-uya- + expression of Direction without -kan

Besides their widely attested use with an expression of Origin, *arha-pai-* and *arha-uya-* also occur with an expression of Direction. In these cases the particle *-kan* is always absent. The presence or absence of *-kan*, in other words, corresponds with a different predicate frame of *arha-pai-* and *arha-uya-*. According to the rule by Götzke mentioned above, all instances of *arha-pai-* and *arha-uya-* without *-kan* are to be translated as "to go home" and "to come home". This translation congrues with the fact that, whenever the Direction of the predicate is mentioned, it is either the place of residence of the Subject, or the capital of the Hittite empire, Hattusa. See for instance *INA KUR-SI* and ¹³*KU.BABBAR-SI* in the following examples:

- (109-MH) [a] =^šza ja^šha' [i]NA KUR-SI pait "He went home to his own country. (Then they installed Maddugattas for the second (time).)"
KUB XIV 1+ obv. 65 (CTH 47) ed. Götzke (1927: 16-17)
- (110-NH) ("After I conquered the whole country of Arzaya,") namma
¹⁴*KU.BABBAR-SI arha uyanum* "then, I came home to Hattusa."¹⁴
KBo III 4 III 36-37 (CTH 61,1A) ed. Götzke (1933a: 76-77)

As shown in (109-MH), the particle *-za* can be added to *arha-pai-* or *arha-uya-*. It is used here in its role as "subject-resumer", emphasizing the possessive relation between the Subject and the Direction of the predicate (*INA KUR-SI*), which is already indicated by the possessive pronoun *-SI*.¹⁵ The particle *-za* may, however, also be used when the expression of Direction is omitted:

- (111-NS) ("They consecrate a billy goat, a sheep (and) a pig to that god who caused this plague in the army. (...) They eat and they drink.") n=ot=za arha uyanzi "(Then) they come home."
HT IV 23-25, 29-30 (CTH 394,A) ed. Dingel (1985: 20)

The fact that (111-NS) describes the end of the third day of the ritual of Ashella, makes it likely that, also in this case, the expression *-za arha-uya-* means "come home".

In the following example the context indicates that *-za arha-pai-* cannot be translated as "to go home", but must mean something like "to go out, to set out":¹⁶

- (112-MH) ("The enemy reach[ed] the city of Mataša (...)") n=at=za arha pâr
¹⁷ Marâ'ša [n] URU-a[n] kattan lukkier "(Then) they went out (and) set

¹⁴ In Mursili's Annals this example alternates with *namma* ¹⁸*KU.BABBAR-SI EGIR-pa inyanum* "Then, I came back to Hattusa"; see e.g. KBo III 4 IV 33 and ibid. III 66 (with different word order).

¹⁵ For the description of the particle *-za* as "subject-resumer" see Hoffner (1973a: 521) and the discussion in § 5.1.2 n.8. See also HKM 63 obv. 23-24 *n=at=za arha INA E-SU pait* "He went to his house." ed. Alp (1991b: 240-241).

¹⁶ See Boley (1989: 245), who on the basis of this example rejects Götzke's distinction altogether.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

fire to the city of Marasha,"
KUB XIV 1+ rev. 52, 54 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1922: 32–33)

The sentence following *n=at=za arha pāi* was restored by Götze and translated as "Da zogen sie fort (und) zündeten die stadt Marasha an".

There is one instance of *arha pāi-* in an Old Hittite original. The function and meaning of *arha* in Old Hittite will be discussed in § 5.2:

- (113-OH) ("When on the sixth day they open (and) dra[w] up the curtain.")
LUGAL-*ia3 arha pāi*; "the king goes away (or: outwards)." KBo XX 104 11-2 (CTH 669) translit. Neu (1980a: 131)

Finally an instance of *arha pāi-* has to be discussed that does not seem to belong to any of the constructions treated so far.

- (114-MH) [84] LÜ.MES ŠUKUR māhhān *bilammar arha takian lār[jal]-[pāi] patzzi*
"When only half the file of the spearmen has passed the portico, (it
[goes in] to the same ~ place~ where spearmen having deposited
(their) [spears usually go].)" JBoT 1 36 IV 8-10 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32-33)

Example (114-MH) is a passage from the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard in the new edition by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32-33). This use of *arha pāi-* with an accusative case, without *-kan* and the meaning "to go through, to pass" is not found in other texts. This example explains the meaning of the many combinations of *arha* and a second locative adverb that are found with *pāi-*, like *perum arha pāi-* and *āppan arha pāi-*; see the introduction to § 3.2.19 - 3.2.23. Note that Götze's rule for the translation of *arha* does not apply to this use of *arha pāi-* without *-kan*.

3.2.4 *katta pāi-* and *katta uya-*

The combination *katta pāi-* is constructed with an expression of Direction and with an expression of Origin. Only in the latter case a sentence particle is added to the sentence.⁴⁷

katta pāi- "to go down to, to descend to" + expression of Direction:

- (115-NH) GIM-*an-ma ŠEŠ=IA* "NIR.GAL ISU AMAT DINGIR^{1/4} = M¹INA KUR SAPITTA
katta pāi "But when my brother Muwatalli at the word of his deity
went down to the Lower Land, (he left) [Hattusa behind]." StBoT 24: 1 75-76 (CTH 91) ed. Otten (1981: 10-11)

katta pāi- "to go down from, to descend from" + expression of Origin and *-kan* or *-asta*:

⁴⁷ There is one broken example of *katta pāi*: "to go down". ("Go, Tell the man of the city of Hassu!" | *kaʃna pāma* "I will go down!" — KBo VII 14 obv. 3-4; see Starke (1977: 140))

Chapter 3

- (116-lateNH) ("It becomes spring.") *nus-kan LU¹³⁰ Ḫakmiššaz katta paizzi* "The man [of] the Stormgod goes down from Ḫakmiš."
KUB XXV 23 left edge a1-2 (CTH 525.3) ed. Carter (1962: 163, 173)

This construction with an expression of Origin and -kan or -ašta is also found with *katta uya-* "to come down from, to descend from":

- (117-OH) [LUGJAL¹³¹] *Kuššara URU-az katta [p]angarit [u] | ēt]¹³²* "The king of Kuššara came down from the city with massed troops ([and he] to[ok] Neša at night with force.)"
KBo III 22 obv. 5-6 (CTH 1A) ■■■ Neu (1974a: 10-11)
- (118-OH) ("[When the Stormgod roars his thunder].") [(LUGAL-uš
aš-ħa[luga]nna(z)] [kar] tu u|(i)zzi "the king comes down from his cart."
KBo XVII 11 + 2606/c 1 28' (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 14-15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65) and (1983: 364)
- (119-OH+) ("When (the cart) arrives in the woods and the tent (has been) placed there too.") (*ni katta NIN DINGIR¹³³ hulugannaz katta uizzi* "the NIN. DINGIR(-priestess) comes down from the cart (and the priest carries the god inside the tent.)"
KUB XI 32+ IV 15'-23' (CTH 738.1)¹³⁴

As shown in these examples the combination *katta uya-* already occurs in Old Hittite, but the sentence particle is not yet found with it.¹³⁵

katta pai- and *katta uya-* are also used in the metaphorical sense "to collapse, to get lost", always without a sentence particle:¹³⁶

- (120-lateNH) ["*H̄all[i]yinuš URU-uš karūlījaš A[NA] LUGAL MEŠ* [...] *kut[t]a pānza ēša DINGIR MEŠ-tarras katta pān ēši[a]*" "The city of Halinuya had collapsed | — for the ancient kings. The images of the deities had gone lost."
KUB XXXVIII 35 1 1-2 (CTH 525.4) ed. Jakob Rost (1963: 195-196)
- (121-NH) ("At the moment I arrived back with him.") *BĀD-eštar ŠA ušši 40 gipessar kattu uit* "the wooden wall (with a length of) 40 gipessar came down (at) [the] star of Šamruha, My Lady, caught him like a fish with a net."
KBo VI 29+ II 31-34 (CTH 85.1) ed. Götze (1925: 50-51)

This use may have developed from the meaning "to go down (namely to the ground)" as a special case of absolute use of the construction *katta poi-* with expression of Direction,

¹³⁰ Or [ni]-[i]; see Neu (1974a: 20).

¹³¹ This festival of the Hittian deity Teteshapi is likely to date back to the Old Hittite period. For its position in the Hittite cult calendar see Houwink ten Cate (1988: 179 + n. 16).

¹³² In festival texts the particle is occasionally omitted, see e.g. LUGAL-ri¹³⁷ hulugannaz katta uizzi KUB X 21 1 10-11 (CTH 669.2A).

¹³³ See CHD (P/L: 39) for examples of *katta poi-* "to collapse, to get lost".

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

which likewise has no sentence particle. From there it possibly came to be used with *katta uya-* as well.

In a few cases *katta pai-* is attested with a constituent indicating the Route along which the Subject goes down. This constituent can be in the ablative or in the accusative case.⁵² In these cases no emphasis is put on the Origin or the Direction, but on the fact that a certain road or entrance is taken, rather than another one. Examples of *katta pai-* "to go down through, to descend" with an expression of the Route along which:

- (122-MH) LUME³ MEŠEDUTIM = ma = kan DUMU.MEŠ.E.GAL¹¹⁴ [GAL]-jaz KA.OAL-az
katta i.t. *paiskanda* n = at = kan lušdanijaz *katta pais*[kan]ja
 "The Guards and palace attendants shall not go down through the main gate. They shall go down through the postern."
 IBOT 1 36 | 60–61 (CTH 262) ed. Gütterbock and van den Hout (1991:10–11)
- (123-NS) ("But when the king travels around in the country, he passes behind the temple of Me(i)zzulla") n = at = kan SA t. "Mizzulla luštanin *katta paizzi* "and descends the postern of the temple of Me(i)zzulla (and enters the *halentuya*-house.)"
 KBo XXX 164 III 8–15 (CTH 670) ed. Alp (1983: 16)⁵³

3.2.5 *kattan pai-* and *kattan uya-*

The combinations *kattan pai-* "to go (in)to (the presence of)" and *kattan uya-* "to come (in)to (the presence of)" are constructed with an expression of Direction that is indicated by an animate noun in the dative and are as a rule not accompanied by a sentence particle:

- (124-NS) ("He descended from the tower) n = at⁴ UTU-ni *kattan paiz* "and he went to the Stormgod."
 KUB XXXIII 106 II 11–12 (CTH 345.3A) ed. Gütterbock (1952: 20–21)
- (125-NH) nu = ita mān A¹ DAM = KA kuyapi NIN = ZU našma SA [NU]MUN NIN = ZU
 MUSUS anninnišjamis *kattan uzaži* "If ever a sister or half-sister of your wife or a cousin comes to you, I give her to eat and to drink."
 KBo V 3+ III 35–37 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 126–127)

In the following instance the Direction of *kattan paiz* is an inanimate noun in the dative-locative, in which case it has the meaning "to go down to":

- (126-MH) "He will say to the [guard who stands in front of him:]") D¹³ kaltija⁵⁴ = ya
kattan paizim "I shall go down to the pot."
 IBOT 1 36 | 35–36 (CTH 262) ed. Gütterbock and van den Hout (1991: 8–9)

⁵² The ablative *nis* (■) function described by Melchert (1977: 315–317) as "perative ablative"

⁵³ See also CHO 11, N: 38).

⁵⁴ In Middle and New Hittite, the dative-locative of *i*-stems mostly ends in *-ija* in stead of *-i* and thus coincides in form with the Old Hittite allative; see Starke (1977: 107–109). According to Starke, most Old Hittite instances in *-ija* are allatives, some are locatives, but there are no certain examples of datives. Therefore, he assumed that the dative of *i*-stems in Old Hittite may have had the ending *-i* instead of *-ija*.

This use of *kattan poi-* with an inanimate expression of Direction is rare and may be a secondary development influenced by *kattu poi-* with expression of Direction; see § 3.2.4.²³ An instance of *kattan poi-* and -*aštu* meaning "to go down into", (127-NS), is discussed in the following section. Independent use of *kattan* is treated in § 3.3.2.

3.2.6 *kattanda poi-* and *kattanda uya-*

kattanda poi- + expression of Direction and -*aštu* or -*kan* "to go down into";²⁴

- (127-NS) ("They burn a goat and bury a *šurasura*-bird and he says:" *ki(j)=ašta mithhar* [MAS.G]AL *šurasurāš = a kattan takracu* pair [k]I=kon SA¹⁵ *Hatti iman ešher sis pangir*²⁵ *pangauqas EME-ut QATAMMA GAM-undu taknaza paidd[u]*"As these, the goat and the *šurasura*-bird, have gone down into the earth, so may these, the sickness, the blood, the oath and the tongue of (the common people of) Hatti, likewise go down into the earth."

KUB XXX 34 IV 25–29 (CTH 401.3A), see Melchert (1977: 311) and CHD (P/I: 31)

- (128-NS) *ni=ya = ūši = kan undakitti ūši kattanta poi* "He went down into her bedroom." KUB VII 54 1 6 8 (=KUB IX 27+1 34-35) (CTH 406) ed. Hoffner (1982: 272, 277)

The original meaning of *kattanda poi-* seems to be "to go down into", a combination of *katta poi-* "to go down" and *anda poi-* "to go into". The function of the personal pronoun -*ši* in (128-NS) may be to stress the possessive pronoun in the expression of Direction *undakitti ūši*, but it may also be directly governed by *kattanda poi-*, as the first of two expressions of Direction in partitive apposition.²⁶ There is one possible other example of *kattanda poi-* with a dative of an animate noun, which may indicate that *kattanda poi-* could be used instead of *kattan poi-* "to go (into) (the presence of)".²⁷

The use of *kattan poi-* in the protasis of (127-NS) with the particle -*aštu* and the meaning "to go down into" is not attested elsewhere and is possibly brought about by the presence of *kattanda poi-* in the corresponding apodosis.

The only complete instance of *kattanda iyu-* is the following case of absolute use, with the particle -*kan* and the meaning "to come down":

- (129-NH) "[The matter of the daughter of Babylon not yet []]" [kim]a = aš = kan iuntarūš *koddanda uizz[i]* "Now she will com[e] down soon." KUB LVII 123: 12–13 (L. Hagenbuchner (1989: 20–21))

²³ The influence of *katta poi-* may also explain the use of -*kan* in the example of *kattan poi-* "to go down (to)" with -*kan* in 738/7 above, 9, cited in the CHD (P/I: 31).

²⁴ The following example from the Iluyanka myth seems to indicate that in Old Hittite the particle could still be omitted: KUB XVII 5 1 13–14 [u] = e taumis hattesināš *kattant[al] nūmīn pñzci* "They do not want to go down into (their) holes again" (CTH 321.B, OH+1) (L. Beckman (1982: 13, 18). See also Hoffner (1982: 41) and CHD (L. N: 47)).

²⁵ For a comparable example of two expressions of Origin in partitive apposition see (72-NS) in § 3.1.2.

²⁶ LUG]AL a *kattanda poiži* "He goes to the king" (BoT IV 343: 5; see CHD (P/I: 32)).

3.2.7 *śārā* *gati-* and *śārā* *uṇṭi-*

šarā-pai- "to go up to, to ascend to" and *šarū-uya-* "to come up to, to ascend to" can be constructed with an expression of Direction and the sentence particle *-kan*. In Old Hittite this construction is found without a particle:

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| (130-OH) | <i>ši-as šarā URU-[ja] pair</i> "He went up ■ the city ((and said): 'I will become your king!'"
KBo XXII 2 rev 14'-15' (CTH 3) ■■■ Otten (1973: 12-13) |
| (131-NH) | "As soon as I arrived at Aššata." <i>nuz-kan</i> ¹¹⁰ <i>Aššata URU-ri šarā pāun</i>
"I went up to Aššata, the town, (and I built) a stronghold on top."
KBo IV 4 II 60-62 (CTH 61.IISB) ed. Göltze (1933a: 118-121) |
| (132-OH+) | <i>mān L.GAL-uš šarjā URU-ja uizzi</i> "When the king comes up to the city, [(on that day) he does no!] [do] anything (else)."
KBo XVII 74+ 130-31 (CTH 631.IB) ed. Neu (1970: 14-15) |
| (133-MH) | "They shall not come ■p to the gate of the palace."
<i>mān II 'hil[amar-za] n-sat-skam kattera KĀ.GAL</i> ¹¹¹ <i>šarā uyanzi</i>
<i>šarā[zz]i-mi] sat-skam KĀ.GAL šarā ut uyanzi</i> "[However], if there are two por[ticoes], they (may) come up to the lower gate, but they shall not come up to the upper gate."
IBoT 136.IV 14-17 (CTH 262) ed. Guterbock and van den Hout (1991: 34-35) |

surd may also govern an expression of Origin and -*kan* or -*astu* meaning "to come up from, to ascend from".¹⁰

- | | |
|----------|--|
| (134-NH) | <p>("After I organized the land at Kargamis") <i>nus-kun</i> SHU KUR
 Kargamis šarū myamun "I came up from the land of Kargamis (and
 I came into the country of Tegaramma.)"
 KBo IV 4 III 17-20 (CTH 61.IISB) 22. Götze (1933a: 124-125)</p> |
| (135-NS) | <p>("As from an oven no grass comes up.") [(n-a)sta apell-sa SHU A.SA = ST ZIZ-tar] SE^{AM} šarū (tē sizz) "may (thus) from his field no wheat
 (and) no barley come up [(and may)] weed(s come u) jp."
 1087/z 1B 6' (CTH 427.B) ed. Oettinger (1976: 14-15, 138)²⁹</p> |

sārā-pai- is also attested with an accusative indicating the Route along which the Subject goes up + *-kut* meaning "to go up along, to climb, to ascend."¹¹

⁵⁰ There is one OH example of *hōrō* with *agū*, in combination with *āppa*, see (234-OH+) in § 3.4.8. For two examples of absolute use see (98-OH+) and (99-OH+) in § 3.2.2.

⁽⁴⁾ See the discussion of this same instance, cited at 129 N.S., in § 226.

⁶¹ (136-NH) is cited as example of "Aktenzettel des Weges" by Friedrich (HE § 201b). See also in broken context KUB XIX 13+14; 10' | $n \neq m \neq k$ | ^{H. K. N.}. *Ju-un lauā puit* (CTH 40 V) ed. Güterbock (1956: 109).

- (136-NH) "[Then] I went on.") *mar̄-kan* ^{GE₂ 3.4.1} *Telšinan ū|rā| pāun* "I would have climbed mount Telšina. (but {the roads} were too difficult for me.)"
KUB XIX 37 III 49–50 (CTH 61.II9) ed. Götz (1933a: 176–177)
- (137-NS) ("I went to Zippašna") *nu-kan* ^{LR} *Zippašnai GE₆-az-pat ū|rā| pāun* "and in that (litt: the) same night I ascended Zippašna (and I went into battle with them. (...) I, the King, the Tabarna, went **to** Zippašna.)"
KBo X 2 II 48–51, 54–55 (CTH 4) ed. Imparati (1965: 50–51), transl. Kummel (TUAT 1.5: 462)⁶²

3.2.8 *parā-pai-* and *parā-uha-*

parā-pai- governs two different constructions with an expression of Direction, one with a sentence particle and the meaning "to go out **to**" and one without a particle and the meaning "to go on **to**, to go forward **to**". This different meaning of *parā-pai-* with and without sentence particle was already noted by Götz (1933a: 128).⁶³ The importance of the sentence particle for the distinction **in** the various uses of *parā-pai-* is also shown by the fact that in two vocabulary texts Akkadian *yītu* and *uššutu* both meaning "departure, going out" are translated as *parā-kan pā(u)yār*.⁶⁴

Examples of *parā-pai-* "to go out **to**" with *-kan* or *-ašta-*:⁶⁵

- (138-OH) *n̄salū((a par)lā pāiqam)*. "Then we go out. (I place these in the forecourt). We go in again)." KBo XVII 1+1 20'–22' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 20–21), translit. Neu (1980a: 6)⁶⁶
- (139-NS) (*n̄saš-kan parā* ^{LR} *hili pāizzi*) "He goes out to the courtyard. (He takes mud in the courtyard and he speaks likewise (...))" *n̄saš-kan parā pāizzi* "Then he goes out." KUB VII 41 obv. 22–23, 24 (CTH 446.A) **in** Otten (1961: 118–119)

Examples of *parā-pai-* "to go on **to**, to go forward **to**":⁶⁷

⁶² See also Melchert (1978: 15–20).

⁶³ See also the treatment of *parā-pai-* and *parā-uha-* by Zuntz (1936: 63–64, 67–70), the lemma *parā* in CHD (P1-I-II: 109–122) and for *parā-pai-* CHD (P1: 32–33), with the reservation that not all examples of *parā-pai-* without *-kan* occurring in Mursili's Annals can be translated as "weiter ziehen". A translation "to go on **to**, to go forward **to**", however, fits into the context in all these cases.

⁶⁴ Respectively in KBo I 35 IV 4 and KBo XIII 1 rev. left col. 16. See already Zuntz (1936: 63) and CHD (P1: 21, 33).

⁶⁵ In KUB XXIX 4 III 41–42 we even find the particle *-lātā*: *n̄saš-kan ID-i parā pāizzi* "They **go** out to the river" (CTH 481.A, NS) ed. Kronasser (1963: 24–25). Note that in KBo V 2 146–47 the same expression is attested with *-kan*: *n̄saš-kan ID-i parā pāizzi* (CTH 471.A, NS).

⁶⁶ For the translation "to go out" see Starke (1977: 140).

⁶⁷ The Direction may **in** **an** animate or **an** inanimate noun.

*The verb *parā*- and *uya-**

- (140-OH) LUGAL-i *parā* t-*št*: *paizzi* "He (= the singer) goes forward once to the king. (Then he turns back (and) strikes the *meneja*-man with the *water bag*.)" [parā] : [m]a-za-š *paizzi* "Then he goes forward t (and) strikes the performers." KBo XVII 43 I 11'-13' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)⁶⁸
- (141-NH) [nu] *parā* *pān* "Then I went on. (I would have climbed mount Tehšina," (but [the roads] were too difficult for me.)" KUB XIX 37 III 49-50 (CTH 61.II9) ed. Götz (1933a: 176-177)
- (142-NH) *kuiči-ma* NAM RA.HIA *parā* *ma* ^t"Puranda *pār*" "Other deportees went on to Puranda (and seized Puranda.)" KBo III 4 II 34-35 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götz (1933a: 52-53)

Much rarer than the above construction is the use of *parā* *pai-* with particle *-kan* and an expression of Origin meaning "to go out of, to leave":

- (143-NS) LUGAL-*uš-kan* *ište* E⁴LAMMA *parā* *paizzi* "The king leaves the temple of the tutelary deity (and steps on the threshold.)" KUB XI 17 IV 8-11 (CTH 669.7)

In (144-OH+) we may have an example of *parā* *pai-* with an ablative denoting the Route along Which the Subject goes out and the particle *-kan*:

- (144-OH+) [*natumma*] *sa-jt-kan* KA-*uš*; *parā* *pānzi* "They go out through the gate." KUB XXXII 123 + KBo XXIX 206 I 9' (CTH 772.3A) translit. Starke (1985: 304)⁶⁹

paru uya- "to come out of, to leave" is as a rule constructed with an expression of Origin and the particle *-kan* or *-ašša*:

- (145-MH) ("When the king goes outside") *uš-ašša* | DUMU E.GAL "julentugaz *parā* *uizzi* "one palace attendant comes out of the palace." IBoT I 36 I 64 (CTH 262) ed. Gütterbock and van den Hout (1991: 12-13)

With omission of the expression of Origin:

- (146-MH) LUGAL-*uš-kan* *parā* *suizzī* "The king comes out (of the palace), (while the chief of palace attendants holds him by the hand.)" IBoT I 36 II 15-16 (CTH 262) ed. Gütterbock and van den Hout (1991: 16-17)

There is one instance of *parā* *uya-* without a sentence particle and the meaning "to go on, to continue":

⁶⁸ Translation in CHD (L-N: 290).

⁶⁹ For the transcription of this sentence see (136-NH) in § 3.2.7.

⁷⁰ For the possible Old Hittite origin of the *Hanuna*-festival and the date of its manuscripts see Starke (1985: 301-304).

- (147-NH) ("...] fifth year") *kāš kuiš MU.KAM-zi(a parū uiz)zi* "This year, which is (still) going on, (has earlier been included.)"
KUB XXXI 54: 11–12 (CTH 585.O) ed. Otten and Souček (1965: 34–35)⁷¹

3.2.9 *āppa pāi-* and *āppa uya-*

In combination with *āppa* the predicates *pāi-* and *uya-* are as a rule not accompanied by a sentence particle.⁷² *āppa pāi-* "to go back to, ■ return to" and *āppa uya-* "to come back to, to return to" are found with an expression of Direction from Old Hittite onwards:

- (148-OH) [m]ār INA UD IJU^{KAM} āp[pa pa]iyanī "When, on the third day, we go back."
KBo XVII 25 obv. 6' (CTH 752.IB) translit. Neu (1980a: 234)
- (149-NH) ("Let us make a [rebellion].") "n[u = y]a INA^{IM} Gašga EGIR-pa pāiyanī
"Let us go back to Kalka."
KUB XXXIV 30⁷³ + KBo XIV 201.18 (CTH 61.III2A) ed. Houwink ten Cate (1966, 169, 178)
- (150-OH) mān āppa e ma^{1,2} Nēša [uyantun] "But when I came back to Nela, (I brought the man of Purušanda with me.)"
KBo III 22 rev. 76–77 (CTH 1A) ed. Neu (1974a: 14–15)⁷⁴
- (151-NS) ("Come away from that evil person") nu = yā EGIR-pa kāl³ ŠA EN SISKUR
üri uyatten "will come back to the house of this sacrificer."
KUB XV 32 152–54 (CTH 484.JB)

āppa uya- is also constructed with an expression of Origin meaning "to come back from, to return from":

- (152-NH) ("I also captured Pithunaja and I led him home to Hattusa.") nūmīta
ištu KUR^{1,2} Tipiia EGIR-pa uyanū "Then I came back from the land of Tipiia."
KBo III 4 (II) 89–90 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götz (1933a: 94–95)

Examples of *āppa pāi-* with an expression of Origin and the meaning "to go back from, to return from" are much rarer than the ones with *āppa uya-*:

- (153-NS) nu LUGAL-uš EGIR-pa kāl³ ŠA ISKUR paicci "The king goes back from the temple of the Stormgod (and requests to eat.)"
KUB XII 12 V 22–23 (CTH 628) ed. Wegner and Salvini (1991: 149, 151)

⁷¹ With duplicate KUB XXXI 56 (MS N)

⁷² In the CHD (IV 1: 28–29) a few exceptions are cited of *āppa pāi-* with *-kan* or *-jan*. The particle -(a)pāi is twice found with *āppa uya-*: n[u = y]a EGIR-pa le uya "They (=the evil words) may not come back" KBo XV 10+ (II) 58' (CTH 445, MH) and mān .aš = aš-āppa uya[u]z : nu EGIR-pa ašzi KBo III 1 118' (CTH 19.IIA, OH+), ed. Hoffmann (1984: 16–17). Note that the particle is absent in MS C (KBo III 67 1 8–9): mān = aš luhuz[u]z : nu EGIR-pa[u]z ;

⁷³ With restorations from KUB XXVI 71 1 17–18' (MS B).

In the following example *āppa aya-* is accompanied by an expression of Direction and an expression of Origin:

- (154-NH) *namma⁷⁴ Palhuiššat EGIR-pa INA⁷⁵ KÜ.BABBAR-ši ayanan* "Then I came back from Palhuišša to Hattusa (and I mobilized (my) troops (and) charioteers.)"
 KBo III 4 II 7-II (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 44-45)

Remarkably enough examples like (154-NH) in which both the Direction and the Origin of the predicate are mentioned are quite exceptional.⁷⁶

A possible case of independent *āppa* is mentioned in § 3.4.3.

3.2.10 *āppan pai-* and *āppan aya-*

āppan pai- is attested with an animate expression of Direction in the dative case, without sentence particle and the meaning "to go after, to pursue, to support".⁷⁷

- (155-NH) ("Behold this is (your) king, (...). Now bad omen, short years (and) short days you must observe [this one].") *na:ia kēdani : taralli tuk-an [p]aithen* "Pursue this substitute!"
 KUB XXIV 5+ KUB IX 13 obv.20f., 23'-24' (CTH 419.A1 ed. Klimmel (1967: 10-11))
- (156-NH) ("I stood behind him") [*na:ia*] *EGIR-an pāan* "I supported him."
 KBo IV 7 I 12-13 (CTH 68) ed. Friedrich (1926: 108-109)⁷⁸

The same construction with an animate expression of Direction in the dative case and without particle is also found with *āppan aya-* "to come after, to pursue, to support":

- (157-NH) ("An enemy stood up against me") *na:ia aya-an EGIR-an iyaithen*
 ("Support me (and together) we will fight him.")
 KBo V 4 rev. 27 (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 64-65)
- (158-lateNH) ("For this matter the gods must lay down an oath.") *na:ia aya-an EGIR-an ayaundu* "and come after you."
 KBo IV 14 III 51-52 (CTH 123) ed. van den Hout (1989: 294, 296)

Note that the only example of the combination *āppan ija-* "to go after, to come after" occurs with the particle *-kam*; see § 2.2.9.

⁷⁴ See, for example, (74-N5) in § 3.1.2

⁷⁵ In *na:ia tukšatir EGIR-an pāci* "Will he pass behind the plain?" (231-NH) in § 3.4.8. *Āppan pai-* seems to be used instead of *āppan arha pal-*.

⁷⁶ With duplicates KUB VI 44 I 12-13 (MS D) and KUB VI 43 obv. 14 (MS E).

3.2.11 *āppanda poi-* (*āppant-*)*anda poi-* and *āppanda uya-*

āppanda poi- is found with an expression of Direction, which can be animate or inanimate, without a sentence particle and the meaning "to go after, to follow, to pursue":

- (159-OH+) "If a man elopes with a woman") EGIR-*anda* = *m[ā = ūmū]š [ša]rdijas poiži* "and a helper goes after them."
KBo VI 3+ II 30 (HG I § 37, CTH 291.1B) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26–27)

Whereas in the Middle Hittite manuscript in (159-OH+) the local adverb EGIR-*anda* is found, the Old Hittite manuscript has the older *āppan(-)anda*:

- (160-OH) ("If someone elopes with a woman") *n[u = ūmū]š kurdijes āppan(-) anda pā[n]zi* "and helpers go after them."
KBo VI 2 II 10 (HG I § 37) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26 n. 15, 27 n. 10) and Hrozný (1922: 28 n. 10), transl. Hoffner (1995: 222)
- (161-MH) [*mān*? *š[ū]lūganni = ma* EGIR-*anda* *pānzi n = at* *š[ū]GIDRU-uyaanteš* EGIR-*anda* *at pānzi*] "But, if they (=the guards) follow the cart, they shall not follow holding staffs. (They shall take their spears.)"
IBoT I 36 III 48–50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28–29)
- (162-NH) ("I completely forgot about the matter.") *mahyan = ma uēr* MU.I.HI.A-uš EGIR-*anda pādir* "but as the years came to follow (namely one another),"⁷⁷ (this matter came to appear to me in my dreams.)⁷⁸
KBo IV 2 III 44–46 (CTH 486.C) ed. Götze and Pedersen (1934: 4)

āppanda uya- is attested with an animate expression of Direction, also without accompanying sentence particle, and the meaning "to come after, to follow, to pursue". An instance of absolute use already occurs in Old Hittite:

- (163-OH) [*lu* *š[ū]GIDRU-aš*? *š[ū]Dāurija lu Miš hapiš āppanda?* *uenzi*] "The staff bearer of Daunija (and) the hapiš-men follow."
KBo XVII 43 I 5' (CTH 649) transl. Neu (1980a: 104) and (1983: 359)⁷⁹
- (164-NH) *mu = mu ūl̥s = ja* "NIR GĀL EGIR-*anda uit* "My brother Muwatalli followed me".
StBoT 24 II 48 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 14–15)

⁷⁷ In the edition by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28–29) the particle -*kan* is restored in the lacuna. The other instances of *āppanda poi-* and *āppanda uya-* in this text, however, follow the regular pattern without a sentence particle.

⁷⁸ The CHD (PVI: 38) translates "But as the years proceeded to pass". There are no other examples of *āppanda poi-* with the meaning "to pass", which is normally expressed by *pāt*- or *ūstarna poi-* + -*kam*; see § 3.1.3 and 3.2.12.

⁷⁹ The Old Hittite duplicate KBo XVII 18 II 6' has EGIR-*šU*, see Neu (1980a: 100) and Starke (1977: 195).

⁸⁰ Cited with restorations from Middle Hittite duplicate KBo VII 35+ KBo XVII 44+ 99 I 9'–10' by Starke (1977: 195), transl. Neu (1980a: 101).

3.2.12 *ištarna poi-*⁸¹

The combination *ištarna poi-* is constructed with a Subject constituent denoting a unit of time. In this use *ištarna poi-* is always accompanied by the particle *-kan* or *-ašta*, except in Old Hittite.⁸²

- (165-OH) ("[The queen] of Kanis gave in one year birth to 30 children. (...)" *mān MU.HLA ištarna pāiš* "When years had passed by, (the queen) again gave birth to (this time) 30 daughters." KBo XXII 2 obv. 1, 6 (CTH 3) ed. Otter (1973: 6-7)
- (166-NS) ("What regions the king used to travel in,") *nu māšieš gimiruš lalhijan harzi ištarna-kan kuičš MU.HLA panteš* "however many regions he has travelled in (during) the years that have gone by. (...)" *mān-kan MU.HLA-ma kuičš ištarna panteš" But if some years have gone by (and the king has gone nowhere on a campaign, (then no ritual takes place.)" KUB XXVIII 117-9, 20-21 (CTH 712.A) ed. Lebrun (1976: 75, 86)*
- (167-NS) ("On the second day they offer two *tuhalzi*." *ni-ašta apāš UD-az ištarna paiz* "That day goes by. (On the third day they give *gangari*.)" KBo V 1 156-58 (CTH 476) ed. Sommer and Ebelöf (1924: 4-5)

The combination *ištarna poi-* is generally translated as "to go by, to pass."⁸³ The same notion of time "going by" is also expressed by the basic predicate *pai-* (§ 3.1.3).

There is one instance of *ištarna ija* (+*-kan*) with the same construction and meaning "to go by, to pass"; see § 2.2.10. An example of independent use of *ištarna* with *pai-* can be found in § 3.3.4, a possible case of independent *ištarna* with *uya-* ■ § 3.4.5.

3.2.13 *menahhanda poi-* and *menahhanda uya-*⁸⁴

menahhanda poi- "to go toward, to go against, to go to meet" and *menahhanda uya-* "to come toward, to come against, ■ come to meet" are constructed with an expression of Direction (in most cases an animate noun in the dative case) and as a rule not accompanied by a sentence particle.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Less likely is an interpretation of *ištarna* as an independent Adjunct of Time meaning "in the meantime". The local adverb *ištarna* is regularly used as an Adjunct of Location meaning "between, among", but there is no evidence for its use as an Adjunct of Time meaning "in the meantime". See e.g. the lemma *ištarna. Ištarni* in Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 478-480). Also, the presence of *-kan* is hard to explain if *ištarna* is independent of *pai-*. In the other combinations of *pai-* and local adverbs described in this chapter the particle *-kan* is only found when a dependent local adverb is present in the sentence.

⁸² As already remarked in the CHD (P/I: 37), the use of *ištarna poi- + -kan* in KBo IX 106 III 20 (*n zat z kan* [paithur iš tur na poi(zz)]) (CTH 404.2B) is probably a mistake for *ištarna arha poi- + -kan*, which is found in the duplicate KUB XXXII 115+IV 6 (404.2A, MS) ed. Jakob-Rost (1953: 364-365). See § 3.2.20.

⁸³ Cf. Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 478-480) and CHD (P/I: 38).

⁸⁴ For these and other examples of *menahhanda poi-* and *menahhanda uya-* see CHD (L-N: 275-276 and P/I: 32).

⁸⁵ There are a few exceptions of *menahhanda poi-* with *-ašta* and *-kan* cited in CHD (P/I: 32).

- (168-OH) [ta HUR.SAG-n⁴⁶ UTU-i mē⁴⁷naḥyanda pa[imi] "Then I go towards the inountain, to the Sungod."
KBo XVII 1+ II 40' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Šrouček (1969 : 28–29), translit. Neu (1980a: 8)⁴⁸
- (169-OH) [mi i.0⁴⁹] ḥašši LUGAL-i menahyanda zahyija uit "The man of Hašši came to battle against the king."
KBo VII 14 obv. 7 (CTH 15.1A) transl. Otten (1953: 60)
- (170-NS) ("Go, [(say)] to Kumurbi:") knyat : ya E-ri IgI-anda ka[rimmi]⁵⁰ nayanza uit "Why have you come against (my) house in anger?"
KUB XXXIII 102 II 7-8 (CTH 345.1C) ed. Götze (1951: 148–149)⁵¹
- (171-NB) ("When I reached the city ⁵² Tegaramma") nu : ma "Nuganzaš GAL.GESTIN EN.MEŠ : ya hūmantas ⁵³ Tegaramma menahyanda uēr "Nuganza, 'Chief of Wine', and all the lords came to meet me in Tegaramma."
KBo IV 4 III 19–22 (CTH 61.05B) ed. Götze (1933a: 124–125)

3.2.14 *parranda pāi-* and *parranda uga-*

parranda pāi- governs a construction with an expression of Location indicating the place that is crossed and an expression of Direction, which can be animate or inanimate, and has the meaning "to go across (a place) to, to go over to" and is always accompanied by *-kan*.⁵⁴

- (172-NH) nu : kan INI KUR⁵⁵ Arzanya parranda pāi "I went across to the land of Arzaya. (...) nu : kan arani parranda ; guršauqamanza pāi "He went across the sea to the islands."⁵⁶
KBo III 4 II 28–29, 31–32 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933: 50–51)
- (173-NH) ("Some deportees went to mount Arinanda. (...)") kuičči : mo : kan NAM.RA.MEŠ arani parranda HTI "Ulyba-LU pāi" "Other deportees went across the sea with Uhha-zili."
KBo III 4 II 33, 36 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 52–53)
- (174-NS) ("The farmers who were there,") nu : kan apāš (IN LU.MEŠ⁵⁷) Araundia parjan] du pāi apāš : nu : kan IN⁵⁸ MEŠ EN.NU.UN HUR.SAG-i parrandu pāi "some went across to the mēn ⁵⁹ Araundia. Others went across the mountain to the watchmen".
KUB XVI 16 rev. 5–7 (CTH 570) ed. Beal (1992: 259 + n.973)⁶⁰

⁴⁶ Restorations from KBo XVII 3+ II 11' (MS B).

⁴⁷ The parallel manuscript A uses the expression *peran āppa uya-*, see (226-NS) in § 3.4.7.

⁴⁸ See the treatment in CHD (P/A: 33 and P/2: 135–136) with the following and other examples.

⁴⁹ For the interpretation of *zahyija* as the dative plural of the cuneiform Luwian word for island *kuršaqar / kuršaqan* see Starke (1985: 142–152).

⁵⁰ Beal translates "across the mountain"⁶¹ EN.NU.UNST

The expression of Location indicating the place that is crossed is often omitted. In some of these cases the obstacle crossed is a river, a sea or a mountain mentioned in the context, e.g. HUR-SAG-*i* in the second sentence (174-NS), but it can also be the border of the country not explicitly referred to, as for instance in the case of *parranda uya-* in (175-NH) below. Less frequent is the omission of the expression of Direction as found in (173-NH).⁹¹

parranda uya- "to come across to, to come over to" is likely to govern the same construction as *parranda pai-* and is also accompanied by -*kan*. In the available instances of *parranda uya-*, the expression of Location is never explicitly mentioned, but the obstacle that is crossed in all cases seems to be the border of the country.⁹²

- (175-NH) *nuz-kan tuk kuiš SA KUR* ^{Uk} *Arzanya [NAM.RA.MEŠ p]arranda u[ya]za*
 "The deportees from Arzaya, who (have) come across to you. (...) Arrest all deportees."
- KUB XIX 49+ 149-50, 53 (CTH 69) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 8-9)⁹³

3.2.15 *parijan poi-* and *parijan uya-*

The combination *parijan poi-* is attested a few times with an expression of Direction and the particle -*kan* and seems to have the same meaning as *parranda poi-* "go across to", described in § 3.2.14. It may also have the same construction as *parranda poi-*, with an expression of Location indicating the place that is crossed and an expression of Direction, but in the available examples the place that is crossed is never explicitly mentioned:⁹⁴

- (176-MH) *nzaš-kan mān ANA KUR* ^{Uk} *Sakaddunaya parēan paizzi* "If he (= the enemy) goes across to the land of Mount Šakkaddunaya."
- HKM 46: 8-9 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 200-201)

parijan poi- and *parijan uya-* are both attested with an accusative denoting the place that is crossed, with the particle -*kan*:⁹⁵

- (177-NS) ("Uršanabi began to reply to Gilgameš, the king.") [*kis-ya*] *kuit* "UŠ.GIM.
 MAŠ *nu-ya-kan arunan p[ar]jan*" *pāsi* "What (is) [this], Gilgameš?
 Do you want to go across the sea? (When you reach the walets of death,
 how shall you act?)"

⁹¹ Following Starke's interpretation of *gurkayana* in (172-NH), it can be inferred from the context that the NAM.RA.MEŠ cross the sea in the direction of the islands, see n. 89 ad (172-NH).

⁹² See CHD (P1: 136) citing among others *na-ge-kan ANA KUR-šA K[ar]paranda-niša* (coll.) *taer* "They came across into your land" KUB XXXI 47 rev. 4 (CTH 187, NH), with correction of Hagenbuchner's reading *kutta[n]da* (1989: 442-443).

⁹³ The same expression seems to be used two times more in this text: *kuiš-ya-kan kuiš [par]rand-a-uya* "Whoever has come across to me." KUB XIX 49+ 144-45 ed. Friedrich (1930a: 8-9); see CHD (P1: 136) and similarly ibid. 152.

⁹⁴ For these and other examples see CHD (P1: 33 and P2: 152). In the following example the Direction is unexpressed: *umuruk-ša-ka-purjan-pāšā-lāni* *Uš.tamai* "But he did not let me go across." KUB XXIII 87: 10-11 (CTH 209.B) ed. Hagenbuchner (1959: 227-228).

⁹⁵ See CHD (P1: 33 and P2: 151). The accusative possibly functions as Object with the predicate; see § 3.5.

⁹⁶ So Friedrich (1930b: 24 n. 3), cf. with Laroche (1968: 20) and CHD (P2: 151): *muz-ya-kan arunan*

KUB VIII 50+ 6-9 (CTH 341.III9B) ed. Friedrich (1930b: 24-25), transl.
Laroche (1968: 20)

- (178-NS) *n=us-kan* [D-an pariyan uis namma =*as* pariyan *pai-*] "He came across
the river. Again he went across."

KUB XVIII 5 II 10-11 (CTH 573) ed. Onal (1973: 46-47)

3.2.16 *ayān ar̥ha poi-* and *ayān ar̥ha uya-*

The adverb *ayān* is only found in combination with *ar̥ha*, *katta* and *šurā* and its meaning is not yet clear. Götre (1927: 135) suggested that it might have been used to strengthen the separating notions of these local adverbs, but this is not easy to prove.⁹⁷ The combinations *ayān ar̥ha poi-* "to go away from, to leave" and *ayān ar̥ha uya-* "to come away from, to leave" are attested with an expression of Origin (animate or inanimate) and the particle *-kan*:

- (179-MH) *n=ad-kan*⁹⁸ MES EDUTIM DUMU MEŠ E.GAL s₁o ayān ar̥ha *pai-zzi* "He goes away from the guards and palace attendants (and takes his position at the left wheel of the cart.)"
IBoT I 36 II 41-43 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18-19)

- (180-NS) ("And we will give you a desirable and pure offering") *nu=x=gat-kan*
apēdani id̥lagi antuh̥ši ayān ar̥ha uya-tten "Come away from that evil person (and come back to the house of this sacrificer.)"
KUB XV 32.152-54 (CTH 484.IB)

3.2.17 - 3.2.21 Combinations of *ar̥ha* and a second local adverb with *pai-* and *uya-*

In § 3.2.3 it was remarked that (114-MH), an example of *ar̥ha poi-* with an accusative and the meaning "to pass" in the new edition of the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32-33), provides us with the clue to the meaning of the many combinations of *ar̥ha* and a second local adverb found with *pai-*, *uya-* and less frequently *iia-*.⁹⁹ Following Güterbock's translation of the combinations that occur in the Instruction of the Royal Bodyguard, these can be understood as derivations of *ar̥ha poi-* "to go through, to pass", in which the second local adverb further specifies *ar̥ha poi-*, for instance *peran ar̥ha poi-* "to pass in front" or *istarna ar̥ha poi-* "to go through, to pass through".¹⁰⁰ Similar notions can be expressed by the corresponding combinations of *ar̥ha* and a second local adverb occurring with *uya-* and *iia-*. Compared with the relative frequency of these combinations the single attestation of *ar̥ha poi-* is remarkable. The combinations described in the following paragraphs mostly govern a constituent in the accusative, either animate or inanimate, which possibly has the syntactic function Object, and sometimes also an expression of Location in the dative-

⁹⁷ [parian GIM-an (?)] pōtī "When (?) you go across the sea."

⁹⁸ See also Kammenhuber (HW², A: 635).

⁹⁹ See the examples of *istarna ar̥ha iia-* and *ser ar̥ha iia-* in § 2.2.12 and 2.2.13.

¹⁰⁰ See Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 54) and the examples of these combinations with *pai-* in CHD (P/I: 36-37) many of which are cited in the following paragraphs. Note that the second local adverb is actually the first since it always precedes *ar̥ha*.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

locative.¹⁰⁰ The semantic function Location is to be understood here as "local point of reference": The point that is passed is often indicated by a human being. Unlike the "basic" construction of *arha* *pai-*, they are always accompanied by *-asta* or *-kan*. In these combinations *arha* and the second local adverb seem to function as a unity, together modifying the meaning of the basic predicate. The meaning of *istarna arha* *pai-* "to go through, to pass through" or *ser arha* *pai-* "to pass over, to pass by, to ignore", for instance, is more than the sum of the individual notions of *istarna* "between" or *ser* "above, on top" and *arha* *pai-* "to pass".¹⁰¹ The combination *appan arha* in one example appears to be written as one word.

3.2.17 kattan arha *pai-* and *kattan arha* *uya-*

As shown in the CHD (P/I: 37), *kattan arha* *pai-* "to pass under, to pass below" can be constructed with an accusative and *-asta* or *-kan*:¹⁰²

- (181-NS) *n = aṣta EN SISKUR apē = a KĀ GAL RI A kattan arha [p]uizzi* "The sacrificer passes under these gates too."
KBo XXIV 63 III 4-5 + KBo XXIII 43 III 11-12; see CHD (P/I: 37)

kattan arha *pai-* and *kattan arha* *uya-* are also attested with a dative-locative and *-asta* or *-kan* and the same meaning "to pass under, to pass below":¹⁰³

- (182-OH+) ("You are the hawthorn tree(...)") GU₂-uš+ta+kkan katti = n̄ arha
puizzi "The cow passes under you (and you pull out a tuft of its hair.)"
UDU-u[š+m]u = tñ+kkan katti = n̄ ((arha pa)izzi) "The sheep passes under
you (and you pull out its fleece.)"
KUB XXX 54 II 13-16 + KUB XXXIII 47: 1'-5' (CTH 334.1A) translit.
Laroche (1965: 139), transl. Hofstetter (1990: 28)¹⁰⁴
(183-NS) *n = aṣta hūmanza KĀ GAL* ^{11st} *kattan arha uizzi* "Then every one passes
under the gate (and he who runs last breaks off the gate.)"
VBnT 24 II 9-12 (CTH 393.4) ed. Sturtevant and Bochtel (1935: 110-111)

3.2.18 peran arha *pai-* and *peran arha* *uya-*

peran arha *pai-* "to pass before, to pass in front of" is attested with an accusative and *-kan*:

¹⁰⁰ The problem of the function of the accusative is discussed in § 3.5.

¹⁰¹ Admittedly, this is less clear in the other combinations. If the second local adverb would function independently of *arha* and the predicate, the presence of the sentence particle would be unexplained. As demonstrated in § 3.1-3.3.8 other local adverbs functioning as independent Adjuncts with *pai-* and *uya-* are not responsible for the use of sentence particles.

¹⁰² See also with *-kan*: *n = ikan* ^{11th} *Sūpplilium GAM-an arha* *paizzi* "He passes below Sūpplili." KUB XXII 51 obv. 11 (CTH 577), cited in CHD (P/I: 37).

¹⁰³ In (182-OH+) we find a combination of the constructions *katti* + *n̄* and *kattan* + *-ta*; see § 5.1, p. 139. An example with omission of the dative-locative is found in KUB XLV 26 II 3: *n = aṣta EN SISKUR katta[n̄] arha* *[paizzi]*, (CTH 790, NS).

¹⁰⁴ With duplicate KUB XXXII 48: 1-2 (MS B).

- (184-MH) *n=as=kan šarkantin peran arha ul paizzi* "He does not pass before the petitioner."¹⁰³ (he passes behind (him).)"
IBoT I 36 III 32-33 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 26-27)

peran arha paizzi and *peran arha uya-* "to pass before, to pass in front of" are also found with a dative-locative and -*kan*:

- (185-NS) ("The GUUDU-priests of Arinna and the *lumena*-man come.")
{n=a}t=kan LUGAL-i peran arha pānz "They pass in front of the king."
KBo XXV 176 rev. 18'-19' (CTH 627) transl. Singer (1984: 94)

- (186-MH) ("When he comes back, he also comes back (or: again) that same way.")
ANA ¹¹ ⁵⁰⁸ MESEDETI=ti=ma=at=kan peran arha uizz
"but passes in front of the guards."
IBoT I 36 III 25-26 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24-25)

3.2.19 *āppan arha paizzi*

āppan arha paizzi is found with an accusative and -*kan* "to pass behind":¹⁰⁴

- (187-MH) ("The guard who holds the outside, (...)") *apuš=as=kan šarkantin EGIR-an arha paizzi* "that (guard) passes behind the petitioner".¹⁰⁵
IBoT I 36 III 19, 21 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24-25)

- (188-MH) ("He does not pass the defendant in front(")) *EGIR-an(-)arha=as=kan paizzi* he passes behind (him).¹⁰⁶
IBoT I 36 III 32-33 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 26-27)

- (189-NS) ("But when the king travels around in the country.") *n=as=kan A*.
Mizzalla EGIR-an arha paizzi "He passes behind the temple of Met(i)z-zalla (and descends the postern at the temple of Met(i)z-zalla.)"
KBo XXX 164 III 8-15 (CTH 670) ed. Alp (1983: 16)

Note that in (188-MH) we have an instance of absolute use with omission of the accusative.

3.2.20 *ištarma arha paizzi* and *ištarma arha uya-*

ištarma arha paizzi "to go through, in pass through" and *ištarma arha uya-* "to come through, to pass through" are constructed with a constituent in the accusative and the particle -*kan*:

¹⁰³ The translation "petitioner" for *šarkantin* has been adopted from Melchert (1996: 135).

¹⁰⁴ The same construction seems to be present in a New Hittite copy of the Old Hittite Anitta text: *[t]e¹¹ Ne-ek-su-as ÉRIN.MEŠ E[GIR-pa] arha paizzi* "and [the troops of Neša] passed behind [him]" KUB XXVI 71 113' (CTH 1.8, OH+) ed. Neu (1974: 14-15, 34).

¹⁰⁵ For "petitioner" see Melchert (1996: 135).

¹⁰⁶ In this example *arha* and *EGIR-an* seem to be written as one word. For other examples of a unity of two local adverbs written as one word see § 4.2.9 and 4.2.11.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

- (190-NH) *tukkatta=ma=kun KUR¹⁰⁰ Italuppa ištariku arha pām* "The next morning I went through the land of Italuppa (and I went into the land of Takkuyahina.)"
 KBo V 8 I 30-31 (CTH 61.II7A) ■ Götze (1933a: 150-151)
- (191-MH) ("Moreover, if the enemy [comes] to Hattusa [with mas]sed troops")
 [*n=a=kun mān ūmenzen AŠĀ kueran ištarmu ar[ha] uizzī* "and if he comes through your field (and) land, (and you do not sturdily [defend]) it.")
 KUB XIII 27 rev. 22-23 + KUB XXIII 77 + KUB XXVI 40: 93'-94' (CTR 138.1) transl. von Schuler (1965: 123)
- (192-MH) ("See, the enemy came and pressed on Hapara on that side, while ■ pressed on Kašipura from this side!") *apādš-uya=kun ištarmu arha uit*
 "'(so that) ■ could pass through.'"
 HKM 6: 4-8 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 126-129)

3.2.21 *Ser arha pai-*

The combination *ser arha pai-* "to pass over, to pass by, to ignore" is constructed with an accusative and the particle *-kan* or *-asṭa:*¹⁰¹

- (193-NH) ("When some weapon was given to me by the god and someone revolted against me,") *n=asṭa apāt pēdan ser arha pām* "I passed by that place (=Nerik)." ("When, after that, some other year arrived and struck my eyes by means of an oracle,") *ammuk̄-ma=kem apūdda-ya ser arha pām* "I ignored that too."
 KUB XXXVI 87 III 6'-15' (CTH 386.3) ed. Haas (1970: 190-191)

An instance of independent *ser* with *arha pai-* "to go away" can be found in § 3.3.7.

3.2.22 *arha pai- + andan pai-*

In the following passage from an oracle text we find a combination of the constructions of *arha pai-* "to go away from" with an expression of Origin and *-kan* and *andan pai-* "to go into" with an expression of Direction:¹⁰²

- (194-NH) ("If His majesty mobilizes Nerik and the troops of Piqainariša draw near,") *ni=kun¹⁰³ Piqainarišač arha¹⁰⁴ Aštigurqa andan paizzi* "Will he go away from Piqainariša into Aštigurqa?"
 KUB V 11 53-54 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 40-41)

¹⁰⁰ See CHD (P/I: 37, 39).

¹⁰¹ The same combination of a construction with *arha* and *andan* is attested once with *uya-*: see § 2.2.14.

3.2.23 *arha uya-* + *appa uya-*

arha uya- "to come away from" with *-kan* and an expression of Origin and *appa uya-* "to come back to" with an expression of Direction are combined in the following example:

- (195-NH) ⁴UTUSt = kan ^{UML} Neriqazarha EGIR-pa^{UML} Hakniš uizzi "Will His Majesty
come away from Nerik back to Hakniš (and defeat Talmalija?)"
KUB V 1 II 40 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 58-59)

3.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate

The local adverbs in this section serve as independent Adjuncts indicating the Time in which, the Location where or the Manner in which the motion denoted by *pai-* and *uya-* takes place or the Accompaniment or Motive of this motion. Unlike the dependent local adverbs they do not specify the direction of the movement of the predicate or affect its construction. As in sentences without a local adverb, *pai-* and *uya-* are never accompanied by a sentence particle, when they occur with independent local adverbs.

3.3.1 *anda + pai-*

In (196-MH), a difficult section of the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard, the beginning of which was already discussed in § 2.3.1 ad (43-MH), we find the only example of *anda* *pai-* without the construction with an expression of Direction and the sentence particle, which are present when *anda* is dependent on *pai-* (§ 3.2.1):

- (196-MH) ("The soldier who (is) of a field battalion keeps the peaceful (population) lined up to the sides. The left one keeps (it) lined up on the left and the right one keeps (it) lined up on the right.") *arha : ma : as 3 IKU iatta* "He (=the left one) marches three IKU away (from the right one). (If, however, anywhere in front of him the road is narrow.)" *n : as anda [paizzi]* "he goes within (three IKU of the other)." IBnT I 36 II 60-63 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 22-23, 53)

It is hard to define the exact meaning of *n : as anda paizzi*, since this use of *anda* with *pai-* is unparalleled, but the context seems to suggest that *n : as anda paizzi* denotes the opposite of *arha : ma : as 3 IKU iatta*.¹¹¹ Given this opposition it seems likely that *anda* has the same function with *pai-* as *arha* has with *uya-*, namely that of Adjunct indicating the Manner in which the Subject marches or moves forward; see § 2.3.1. In the edition by Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 23, 54) a suggestion by Singer is followed to translate *anda* *pai-* as "to move inward", "converge" and in the CHD (P/1: 28) the meaning "to move closer together, close ranks" is suggested. A translation "they go (closer) together" is very attractive, but only possible if the whole section is translated

¹¹¹ We are clearly not dealing with *anda* *pai-* "to go into, to enter" described in § 3.2.1.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

in the plural, which was done in the edition of Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 53) with the motivation that it is easier in English, although the Hittite text uses the singular. The literal translation suggested above is an attempt to stay close to the Hittite text and to render the opposition *arha iqa-* versus *anda pai-*.

3.3.2 *kattan + pai- and uya-*

Besides its dependent use (§ 3.2.5), *kattan* is also attested as an Adjunct of Accompaniment with *pai-* and *uya-* indicating the person in the company of whom the motion of the predicate takes place:¹¹²

- (197-NH) ("Then I imposed (the raising of) troops on them and they began to give me troops") *n-ut-siu luhi kattan paigauyan tijer* "and they began to accompany me to war."
KBo V 8 II 3-5 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götz (1933a: 152-153)
- (198-NH) ("But when it became spring, Hattusaziti [came back] from Egypt.") *SA 1 "Mizri-sja ssi 11 Ti.MU "Haniš RE11 kattan nit* "and the messenger of Egypt, lord Hami, came with him."
KBo XIV 12 III 24-25 (MS E₁) followed by KBo V 6 III 41-45 (MS A) (CTH 40.IV) ed. Güterbock (1956: 96)

3.3.3 *ser + arha poi-*

In the following example the local adverb *ser* is juxtaposed to *arha poi-* "to go away". Judging from the meaning of this sentence *ser* functions independently of the predicate *arha poi-* as an Adjunct of Motive meaning "on account of, for the sake of". In this function it governs the dative ANA "*H(u)d]upijanza*".

- (199-NH) *In-sat-kan ANA "H(u)d]upijanza ser arha poi"* "They went away for the sake of Hudupianza ([and they went against the (abum)jana])."
KBo XVI 6 III 6-7 (CTH 61.II5E) ed. CHD (P/I: 30)¹¹³

Note that this is a completely different use than that of the combination *ser arha poi- + -kan* "to pass over, to pass by, to ignore" in § 3.2.21.¹¹⁴

3.3.4 *istarna + poi-*

The local adverb *istarna* is regularly attested in the function of Adjunct of Location meaning "between, among".¹¹⁵ In the following example *istarna* seems to indicate the Location of the movement denoted by *pai-*:

¹¹² An example of the construction with *katti-* and a possessive pronoun, described in § 2.3.2, is cited in CHD (P/I: 31): ("When the equipment of the *SATANMU* goes from Hattusa to Attuya.")¹¹⁶ *hipralasi = a katti = im paizti* "the *hiprala*-man goes with them" KUB XXV 28 I 3-4 (CTH 657, NS).

¹¹³ Cf. duplicate KUB XIV 29 I 16-17 (MS A) ed. Götz (1933a: 106-107).

¹¹⁴ See also CHD (P/I: 30).

¹¹⁵ See Puvel (HED, Vol 3: 478-480).

- (200-NS) *namna ANA UDUBI A itarna paimi* "Then I go among the sheep (and I pluck a tuft of wool from what sheep is turned with its eyes toward the sun.)"
 VBoT 24 III 11-13 (CTH 293.A) ■■■ Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 112-113)

In this example *pai-* seems to be used without emphasis on the Direction, like *iya-* "to be on one's way, to (be on the) march" (§ 2.1.1). A possible example of *itarna* as Adjunct of Location with *uya-* is discussed in § 3.4.5. The combination *itarna* *pai-* + *-kan* "to go by, to pass by" is treated in § 3.2.12.

3.3.5 *peran para + pai-* and *anda pai-*

It has long been observed that the combination of local adverbs *peran para* functions as a unity meaning "beforehand, in advance, ahead".¹¹⁶ This combination is attested as an Adjunct of Time with *pai-*, but also with the derived predicate *anda pai-* "to go into":

- (201-lateNH) "When the prince comes," *n=aš h̄idak išš 8. Halki peran para* *paičči*
 "he immediately goes ahead to the temple of Halki."
 KLB XLII 100 IV 36'-37' (CTH 525) ed. del Monte (1978: 185, 188); see
 CHD (P/1, 33)

- (202-NS) ("Before the king and queen go to the temple of ZABABA.") *ni=kan*
*peran para*¹¹⁷ *niš ALAMZU*,¹¹⁸ *palgatallas*¹¹⁹ *kitašša-a* *anda*¹²⁰ *pānči*
 "the ALAM.ZU-men, the *palgatalla*-man and the *kita*-man go in beforehand (and take their seats.)"
 KBo IV 9 II 1-6 (CTH 604.1A) ed. Badal and Zinko (1994: 26-27)

3.4 Problematic and unclear instances

3.4.1 *arahza* *pai-* and *arahza* *uya-*

In her treatment of *arahza* in HW² (A: 235-238), Kammenhuber showed that *arahza* means "(to the) outside," when it is used with a motion verb containing the prefix "*pe-*", and "from outside" when combined with a motion verb formed with "*u-*".¹²¹ It is attested with *pai-* and *uya-* from Old Hittite onwards:¹²²

arahza *pai-* "to go outside":

¹¹⁶ See Friedrich (1926: 75) and Zuntz (1936: 82). As observed by Kammenhuber (1974: 146) enclitic elements follow the unity *peran para* when occurring in sentence initial position.

¹¹⁷ Manuscript B (KUB XI 29 II 12') reads: E(G)R *anda* *pai-kan-2* "they go in again".

¹¹⁸ See also Neu (1970: 15, 81). According to Statke (1977: 199-200) *arahza* has the function of an "Ablativus instrumenti" with the meaning "draußen" in Old Hittite and cannot be translated as a "Zielklausus" (p. 203-OH).

¹¹⁹ For other examples see Kammenhuber (HW², A: 235-238).

*The verb *pai-* and *uqa-**

- (203-OH) *aralza pailani* "We go outside (and lead the billy-goat away)." KBo XVII 3+ III 42 (CTH 416.1B) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 34), translit. Neu (1980a: 16)
- (204-OB) [(The king)] puts on *h*[(is gear")]) LU[GAL-uš] *a* [rahi]za *paiž*[z̥] "(and) the king goes outside." KBo XVII 11 + I 32' (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 14–15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65).¹²⁰
- (205-MH) *mālyan = ma LUGAL-uš aralza paizzi* "When the king goes outside, (one palace attendant comes out of the palace.)" IBoT I 36 I 64 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 12–13)
- (206-NS) *n = aš gimir aralza paizzi* "He goes outside ■ the steppe."¹²¹ KBo XVII 94 III 3' (CTH 449.8)

aralza uqa- "to come from outside":

- (207-OH) [(LUGAL-uš)] *i aralza uizzi* "the King comes from outside (and goes) into the inner room." KBo XVII 11+ KBo XX 12 IV 25' (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 34–35), translit. Neu (1980a: 68)

It is possible that *aralza* functions here as a dependent local adverb forming a unity with the predicate and that it belongs to the sub-paragraph about dependent use of 3.2). It should, however, be noted that the use of an explicit expression of Direction as in (206-NS) is highly exceptional with *aralza* *pai-* and that expressions of Origin are altogether absent with *aralza* *uqa-*. One wonders whether *aralza* did not keep more of its nominal character than the other local adverbs and in itself functioning as the expression of Direction or Origin governed by the predicate.¹²²

3.4.2 *peran* (+) *pai-*

Because of the scarcity of the examples, it is hard to define the function and meaning of *peran* in its use with *pai-* in the following instances with any certainty. In the following two instances *peran* seems to be used as an independent Adjunct of Time or Location with *pai-* meaning "before, in front of, ahead".

- (208-MH) ("[Or if] you go to attack [the ...]") *peran = ma paizzi* "but he goes in front, (if that man | ..., | you should not do him harm.") KUB XXIII 77a+ rev. 11'-12' (CTH 138.1) transl. von Schuler (1965: 124); see CHD (P/I: 34)

¹²⁰ With restorations from the better preserved later copy KBo XVII 74+ I 32 33 (MS B).

¹²¹ The same expression is found in KBo IV 2 II 28 *n = aš gimir aralza paizzi* (CTH 398.1A)

¹²² For the nominal origin of the local adverbs see the *stative questions* in § 1.1.1

Chapter 3

- (209-NS) ("When the king [goes'] from [...] to the *dahang*[a]-grove, they beforehand do as follows.") GAL¹¹ LUMES¹² DUB SAR GİS GA[L DUMU]. [MEŠ.É] GAL¹³ DUB SAR LU¹⁴ GUDE₁₅ ja peran¹⁶ dahang[qa] pānzi "The chief of the wood-tablet-scribes, the chief [■ the palace attendants, the scribe, the 'man ■ of the Stormgod' and the GUDU₁₇-priest go before (or: ahead) to the *dahanga*-grove. (The man of the Stormgod holds a *mukar*-instrument.)"
- KUB LVIII 11 obv. 1-4, ed. Haas (1970: 214-215); see CHD (P1; 34)

A different use of *peran* seems to be present in the following examples, which are possibly instances of a derived predicate *peran-pai-* that is constructed with an expression ■ Direction and has the meaning "to go before or to go forward to":¹²¹

- (210-NS) GIM-an¹²² LUMES¹²³ SANGA¹¹ HAL=ja kariqurliqar¹²⁴ PANI E DINGIR¹²⁵ pānzi "When in the morning the priests and the diviner go forward to the temple, (they remove the thick breads from in front ■ the god.)"
- KUB XXXI 113: 10'-12' (CTH 275) ed. Haas (1970: 130-131)
- (211-MS)¹²⁶ ANA P̄JANI DINGIR¹²⁷ paicci "He goes before the deity."
- KBu XXVII 165+ obv. 8

The same use of *peran* may be present in many of the combinations of *peran* and other local adverbs treated in § 3.4.7.

3.4.3 *appa* (+) *uya-*

It is not completely clear whether *appa* in the second sentence of (212-MH) belongs to the predicate *uya-*, which governs the internal Object KASKAL-an, or is used as an Adjunct of Time meaning "again":¹²⁸

- (212-MH) ("If a palace attendant afterwards brings a message,"¹²⁹ he comes from the left, from behind the palace attendants.) EGIR-pa=ma=al kugapl uicci n=aš appa=ja=pat apūn KASKAL-an uicci "When he comes back, he also comes back (or: again) that same way . (but passes in front of the guards.)"
- IBoT I 36 III 23-26 (CTH 262) ill. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24-25)

Dependent use of *appa* with *pai-* and *uya-* was treated in § 3.2.9.

¹²¹ The meaning "to go forward to" may also be present in *peran appa-pai-* "to go back and forth to" in § 3.4.7.

¹²² For the date of the manuscript and the join with KBu XXXV 229 see Groddeck (1996: 106-107).

¹²³ This problem regularly occurs with *appa*, since the definition of its function often depends on the translation. See also § 3.4.8 and 4.2.7.

¹²⁴ The meaning of III 23 mās DUMU.É.GAL.s ma EGIR-anda me [mi] an udai and the role of EGIR-anda is not entirely clear. See Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 55).

3.4.4 *appanda* (+) *uya-*

In the Hittite sentence of (213-MH) below, which was already cited in translation in the previous paragraph under (212-MH), *appanda uya-* is accompanied by an expression of Origin instead of the usual expression of Direction; see § 3.2.11. On the basis of this isolated instance it cannot be decided whether or not *appanda* forms a unity with the predicate *uya-*:

- (213-MH) ("If a palace attendant afterwards brings a message.") *u-at aib-laz-pat išti DUMU MES.E GAL EGIR-anda uizzi* "he comes from the left, (from) behind the palace attendants. "When he comes back, he also comes back (or: again) that same way, (but passes in front of the guards.)"
IBOT 136 II 23-26 (CTH 262) ■ Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24-25)

3.4.5 *ištarna* (+) *uya-*

The only example of the local adverb *ištarna* in a sentence with *uya-* occurs in a list of omnia at the beginning of a ritual text:

- (214-NS) [*nacln]a latayesas ištarnanit haddit [nacln]a -aš-kan E-ni ištarna pidi uizz*] "Or (if) an ant (comes) from the altar or the hearth or comes to a place in the middle of the house."
KUB LIII 50 18-9 (CTH 453) ed. Hoffmann (1990: 186-187)¹²⁷

Since the meaning of these lines is not very clear, the function of *ištarna* is hard to determine. In the above translation *ištarna E-ni* is taken as an Adjunct of Location in opposition with *pidi*, the expression of Direction depending on the predicate *uya-*.¹²⁸ This leaves us, however, with the presence of *-kan*, which is exceptional with the basic predicate *uya-*; see § 3.1.5. Other examples of *ištarna* and *pai-* are treated in § 3.2.12 and § 3.3.3.

3.4.6 *tapuša* *pai-* and *tapuša* *uya-*

In the following instances we seem to have evidence of a derived predicate *tapuša* *pai-* "to go to the side to" and *tapuša* *uya-* "to come to the side to", both accompanied by an expression of Direction and a sentence particle.¹²⁹

- (215-NS) ¹¹SANGA-ma-kan ^{11A}E ^{11U}*tapuša* *paiczi* "The priest goes to the side to the temple of Teššub."¹³⁰
KUB XLIII 54 rev. V 7'-9' (CTH 706) ed. Heinhold-Krahmer (1992: 283)

¹²⁷ Differently Otter (1982: 285); "oder *E* (wird) durch *laztament* (oder) Herd".

¹²⁸ Cf. Hoffmann (1990: 187): "oder an einen Platz innerhalb des Hauses kommt"

¹²⁹ For the frequent occurrence of *tapuša* in texts about the cult of Teššub and Hepat see Heinhold-Krahmer (1992) with further examples.

¹³⁰ A few lines earlier in this text the particle *-ašta* is used. *[n]a-ašta* ^{11U}SANGA *tapuša* ^{11A}E ^{11U}Hepat *paiczi* "Then the priest goes to the side to the temple of Hepat" KUB XLIII 54 rev. V 1'-2'

Chapter 3

- (216-NS) [mā]n=kan LUGAL-uš *tapiša* ina E² Hepat uizzi "When the king comes
■ the side to the temple ■ Hepat."
■UB XLIV 47 obv. 21' (CTH 706) ed. Heinhold-Krahmer (1992: 282)

The combination *tapiša* *pai-* can also be used in a metaphorical sense: "to go aside, to cease to function"¹¹¹

- (217-NH) ("In my sleep the hand ■ a god came upon me") KA x U-iš=a=ma=kan
tapiša *pai-* "and my mouth went aside."
KBo IV 2 III 47–48 (CTH 486.C) ed. Götz and Pedersen (1934: 4)

In the Tagagalaya-letter, however, two instances of *tapiša* *uya-* (with *-kan*) occur where *tapiša* seems to function as allative ■ the noun *tapiš(y)aš-* "side" rather than as a dependent local adverb.¹¹²

- (218-NH) NAM.RA MIES=kan me[kkis]: x|UR| sja *tapiša* iit "Many deportees came
to the border of my country (and 7000 deportees my brother tolok")."
KUB XIV 3 III 9–10 (CTH 181) ed. Sommer (1932: 12–13)

- (219-NH) When the aforementioned Tawalagaya (was) Great King." [nu=kan]¹¹³
■ Millayanda *tapiša* iit "he came to the border of Millayanda,"¹¹⁴
([Formally Kurunta was here.])
KUB XIV 3 I 71–73 (CTH 181) ed. Sommer (1932: 6–7); see Heinhold Krahmer (1986: 54–55)

Given these two instances one wonders how much of its nominal character *tapiša* has kept in its other use with *pai-* and *uya-* and to what extent *tapiša* belongs to the category of local adverbs in Hittite. An argument in favor of an interpretation as dependent local adverb with *pai-* and *uya-* would be the presence of *-kan*, which is not used with the basic predicates *pai-* and *uya-*, but generally ■ the result of the presence of a dependent local adverb in the sentence; see § 3.1.5.

3.4.7 *peran* and other local adverbs with *pai-* and *uya-*

The local adverb *peran* occurs in combination with a number of other local adverbs and *pai-* or *uya-*. In these cases *peran* and the other local adverb may individually be connected with the predicate, each one governing a construction of its own, in (220-NS).

¹¹¹ See also in the birth ritual KUB XLIV 4 rev. 7–8: nu=ši=kan KA x U-iš *tapiša* *pai(u)* IGLHTA-an KILMIN 9 ¹¹² UR.HI A KILMIN "His mouth went aside of him, his eyes went aside of him, the nine parts of his body went aside of him". In this translation *-ši* is taken to refer to the newly born male child, cf. CHD (Pf: 35). In Beckman's interpretation (1983: 177, 185) it is the baby's mother who is suffering the attack out of anxiety for her child's well-being.

¹¹² See Laroche (1970: 30), Starke (1977: 200) and the survey of opinions by Heinhold-Krahmer (1992: 273–274). Following the translation of (218-NH) in CHD (I, N: 245), "to the side" can in this context be understood as "to the border".

¹¹³ The particle *-an* has been restored by Götz and Pedersen (1934: 24–25).

¹¹⁴ Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 54–55) translates here: "war er abschiss (seitlich) von Millayanda (vorbel-) gekommen".

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

for instance, a combination of *peran* *pai-* "to go before" (§ 3.4.2) and *anda* *pai* (+-*kan*) "to go into" (§ 3.2.1). It is, however, also possible that *peran* forms a unity with the second local adverb with a special meaning in its own. Note that *peran* always precedes the second local adverb.

-*peran* (+) *anda* *pai*+*-kan* "to go in before, into the presence of" and *peran* (+) *anda* *uya*+*-kan* "to come in before, into the presence":

- (220-NS) ("They all clean their hands.") *na-x-x* (dupl: *n=a-t=kam*) [(DINGIR¹⁴¹.
n=j] *peran anda panzi* "and they go in before the deity."
KBo XXIV 57 I 3-4 (CTH 701) ed. CHD (P/I: 28)¹³⁵
- (221-MH) *n=a-sta MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL =j= ANA PANI DINGIR¹⁴¹ anda
maganzi* "The queen and the princes come in before the god (and prostrate
themselves before the god.)"
KUB XLV 47+ I 38-39 (CTH 494)

-*peran* (+) *katta uya*+*-kan* "to come down before":

- (222-NH) ("After I dedicated the city of Tisimbahala in the Stormgod.") *na=kam
ina¹⁴⁰ Kārimula peran katta uyanus* "I came down before Kārimula
(and I went home.)"
KUB XIX 37 II 35-37 (CTH 61.B9A) ed. Götze (1933a: 170-171)

For an example of *peran katta uya*- with *appa*; see § 3.4.8.

-*peran* (+) *šarā uya*- "to come up before":

- (223-NH) ("And when I was on my way to the land of Tūramanta.") *na=mu
namma¹⁴¹ MEŠSU.GI =ja peran šarā ut uyer* "the elders (of the city) also
did not come up in front of me."
KBo V 8 IV 10-12 (CTH 61.B17A) ed. Götze (1933a: 160-161)

The absence of a sentence particle is remarkable, since *šarā uya*- is always accompanied by *-usta* or *-kan* (§ 3.2.7).

-*peran* (+) *appa pei* "to go back and forth in, to go frequently to(?)" and *peran* (+) *appa
uya*- "to go back and forth to, to go frequently to(?)":

The evidence for *peran appa pai*- and *peran appa uya*- is poor.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ With duplicate KBo XXIII 42 I 3-4.

¹³⁶ Here Götze's translation of *peran appa uya*- is followed; see § 2.4.3. In CHD (P/I: 39) *peran appa
pai*- is translated as "to have free access to(?)". See also in fragmentary context x[...]*ix-an-mu-us sumel*
ARAD = KUNU GEME = KUNU per(a)'n EGIR-pa uya-yen KUB XXI 27 II 9-10 (CTH 384, prayer of
Puduhepa).

Chapter 3

- (224-lateNH) ("Whatever *śahyān* and *huzzi* obligations (there used to be),") *nueś śmāś peran EGIR-pa* ■ *kuiški paizzi* "let no one go to them frequently (to ask for it.)"
Bo 86/299 III 54-55 (CTH 106) ed. Otten (1988: 22-23)¹⁷⁷
- (225-NS) (May you live, o Ba! | |) *kuiš peran EGIR-pa u[zz]* "who comes ■ and fro (|)"
KUB XXXIII 106 III 7'-8' (CTH 345.3A) ed. Güterbock (1951: 24-25)
- (226-NS) [(*kuyat-s qat*) E-*pa* *pe(r)an EGIR-pa* | (*ka*)*niawisi(j)ayanza uit*] "Why have you come in and out of my house ■ anger?"
KUB XXXIII 93 II 21 (CTH 345.1A) ed. Güterbock (1951: 148-149)¹⁷⁸

3.4.8 *āppa* and other local adverbs with *pai-* and *uya-*

The local adverb *āppa* is attested in various combinations with other local adverbs and *pai-* or *uya-*. In many cases more than one translation is possible and depending on the translation *āppa* can ■ interpreted as a dependent local adverb or as an independent Adjunct of Time meaning "again". ■ the first case *āppa* and the other local adverb(s) may both form a unity with the predicate. In (227-OH+), for instance, we may have a combination of the constructions of *āppa uya-* "to come back to" (§ 3.2.9) and *anda uya-* "to come into" (§ 3.2.1), or *āppa* may ■ used as an Adjunct of Time with the derived predicate *anda uya-*.

-āppa + carla uya- "to come back into (?)":

- (227-OH+) "If a mother removes from her son his garment, she is disinheriting her sons.") *māt DUML-57 EGIR-pa-anda uya* "If her son comes back into her house, (he/she takes her doot and removes it.)"
KBo VI 26 II 3-5 (HG B § 36, C' 292.Ila.B, MS j) ed. Friedrich (1959: 76-77), transl. Hoffner (1995: 214).¹⁷⁹

-āppa (+) arha pai- "to go back home (?)":

- (228-NS) | *n-eś [EGIR]-pa arha pait* | "and he went back home (or; he went home again)." |
KBo XXXIV 268: 9' (CTH 832)

-āppa + katta uya- + -kan "to come down again (?)":

- (229-NS') (| |) *n-eś-kan EGIR GAM uit* "He came down again (and [])"
KUB XVI 59: 4 (CTH 582)

¹⁷⁷ See Otten (1988: 23): "Was immer es an Fron (und) Abgaben (gibt), ihnen gegenüber soll niemand (darauf) zurückkommen!".

¹⁷⁸ The parallel manuscript A, on which the restorations are based, uses the expression *metuñhanda uya-*, see (170-NS) in § 3.2.13.

¹⁷⁹ See also CHD (L-N: 362).

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

-*appa* + *katta* + *andan uya-* and *katta* + *appa* + *andan uya-* "■ come down again into (?)":

- (230-NS') *lukkatti = ma iD-an EGIR-pa GAM uizzi*¹⁴⁰ *ljašurija andan* "Will he the next morning come down the river again (or: back down the river) into ljašurija (and attack the city Taštarissa.)"
KUB XL 106 obv. II' 7'-10' (CTH 562.2B) ed. Klenge (1963: 15-16)¹⁴¹

In (230-NS') the accusative *iD-an* apparently is governed by *katta uya-* and ¹⁴² *ljašurija* by *andan uya-*. Because of *katta uya-* one would expect a sentence particle (§ 3.2.4). A sentence particle is present in the following example, where we find the same combination of local adverbs in a different word order. This time *katta uya-* governs an expression of Origin in the ablative:

- (231-NH) ¹⁴³ *Hahuryaça = kan GAM EGIR-pa*¹⁴⁴ *Aštigurqa andan uizzi nu*
wikšatar wili-an puizzi "Will he (=the king) come down again from Mt. Hahurya (or: come down from Mt. Hahurya back) into Aštigurqa and pass behind the plain?"
KUB V 1 IV 65-66 (CTH 561) ed. Uhlig (1974: 88-89)

-*appa* + *kattan pai-* and *kattan + appa pai-* "to ■ back into the presence of (?)":

- (232-NS) *nu wiš EGIR-pa EN-a - 3ti kattan pait* "He went back (or: again) into the presence of his lord (and again [began] to speak to his lord,¹⁴⁵)"
KUB XXXVI 74 III 6'-7' (CTH 347.2) ed. Siegelová (1970: 136)

The same combination with a different word order, which does not seem to influence the meaning:

- (233-NH) *nu wiš*¹⁴⁶ *Samuha ANA* "Urhi-⁴U-up GAM-an EGIR-pa pāum" "I went back (or: again) to Samuha into the presence of Urhi-Sub (and led him down like a prisoner.)"
KBo III 6 III 61'-62' (CTH 81.B) ed. Otten (1981: 24-25, 77)¹⁴⁷

-*appa* + *šarā uya-* "■ come up again":

The following Old Hittite example possibly shows an instance of absolute use of the construction of *šarā uya-* with expression of Origin with the Adjunct *appa* "again"; see (135-NS) in § 3.2.7:

¹⁴⁰ Klenge did not choose for an interrogative translation of this sentence.

¹⁴¹ As shown by Güterbock (1952: 34-35) and CHD (L-N. 262), the use of *appa* in the expression *EGIR-pa emiškiyan appa* does not always imply repetition.

¹⁴² In MS A (KUB I 1+IV 30) *INA*¹⁴⁸ *Samanya* is omitted. See also CHD (P/I: 29).

- (234-OH) ("See, for the king, the queen and their children, for Haltuša I buried their illness, their **b[lo]** [od]shed, their evil and their fearsome (deed).")
t=at¹⁴¹ āppa šarā wuzzi "Let these not come up again."
 KBo XVII 1+ III 10-13 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 30-31),
 translit. Neu (1980a: 9)¹⁴²

-āppa + *peran* (+) *katta uya-* + -kan "to again come down before":

In (235-NH) *āppa* seems to ■ used as an Adjunct of Time co-occurring with the combination *peran katta uya-* mentioned in § 3.4.7:

- (235-NH) ("However many days (His Majesty) spends up there,") EGIR-*pa=mu=uš*
*t=kan*¹⁴³ *Kaštama pe(r)han GAM uizzi* "will he again come down before
 Kaštama?"
 KUB V 1 79-80 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 46-47)

3.4.9 -āppan and other local adverbs with *pai-* and *uya-*

The local adverb *āppan* is also attested with various combinations of local adverbs and *pai-* or *uya-*. In many of these cases the precise meaning and the function of *āppan* with the other local adverbs and the predicate is unclear.

-āppan (+) *katta pai-* + -kan "to ■ down behind, go down the back (?):¹⁴⁴

- (236-NH) INIM : *yalyayallaš = ma e naš kan namna EGIR-an kona pali* "Thereafter the matter [of the] *yalyayallaš* followed (me) around (?) (lit.: went down behind)." KUB XIII 35 1 24 + KUB XXIII 80 obv.¹⁴⁵ 10 (CTH 293) ed. Werner (1967: 4-5)¹⁴⁶
- (237-NS) ("When he (=the king) arrives out of the city Hišarluja, the *HAZANNU* stands on the right, on top of the [(passus)], but when [the king] is [in]ved up with him, he b[low]s") *t=a(s+ka)n puššum E|(GIR-a)|n* [kar] ta paicci "and goes down the back of the *passus*."
 KUB LVIII 22+ 1 28'-32' (CTH 627.112A) ed. Nakamura (1993: 138, 140)¹⁴⁷

-āppan (+) *šarā pai-* + -kan "to go up from behind (?)" and -āppan (+) *šarā uya-* + -kan "to come up from behind (?)":

¹⁴¹ According to Otten and Souček (1969: 31 n. 18) KBo XVII 6 III 4' has the reading -*jai-ta*. Neu (1980a: 20+ n. 53) transliterates -*ta-ta* on this spot, but refers to this suggestion by Otten and Souček.

¹⁴² The translation "for Haltuša", in preference to "in Haltuša" of Otten and Souček (1969: 30-31), has been adopted from Starke (1977: 70-72) and Neu (1983: 355).

¹⁴³ See the translations suggested in CHD (P/I: 31).

¹⁴⁴ Werner (1967: 5) apparently took *kona* for the independent Adjunct *kattan* (§ 3.3.2): "Die Sache des: *yalyayalla* aber kam infolgedessen hinterher mit".

¹⁴⁵ With duplicates KUB II 7: 13'-20' (MS B) and KBo XXXIV 160: 1'-6' (MS D). See also CHD (P/I: 31).

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

- (238-NH) *nus-kan* ^{HUR.SMG} *Hahanya EGIR UGU paizzi* "Will be (=His Majesty) go up from behind Mt. Hahanya (and attack Talmali(j)a (from) below and when he is up (there), will he attack Kamnsana?)"
 KUB V 1 II 55-56 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 60-61)
- (239-NH) ("From that side, from Kazzapa, the stronghold of the father of His Majesty is his border. On the other side from Tapapanuya (it is) his (border)") *nu-kan* ^{HUR.C} *parkuin kugapi EGIR-in ſarā ugaši* "and when you come up from behind the Bare Peak, ((the peak is the border.)"
 KUB XIX 37 II 30-31 (CTH 61.119A) ed. Götz (1933a: 170-171)
- andau* + *āppan* (+) *ſarā pai-* "to ~~go~~ up into from behind":
- (240-NH) ^{1st} *Tani<zila> andau* ^{1st} *Ziqapallaza EGIR UGU (paiz)zi* "Shall he (=his Majesty) go up into Tanizila from behind Ziqapalla?"
 KUB V 1 left edge a: 1-2 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 92-93)

3.5 Summary

For the basic predicates *pai-* and *uya-* the following predicate frames have been defined:¹⁴⁸

(3.1a) <i>pai-</i>	"to go to"	
	SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
	Agent	Direction
		animate+inanimate
(3.1b) <i>uya-</i>	"to come to"	
	SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
	Agent	Direction
		animate+inanimate
(3.2) <i>uya-</i>	"to come from"	
	SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
	Agent	Origin
		animate+inanimate
(3.3) <i>pai-</i>	"to go, to pass by"	
	SUBJECT	
	inanimate	
(3.4a) <i>pai-</i>	"to go a (certain) way"	
	SUBJECT +	internal OBJECT
	Agent	Route along which

¹⁴⁸ An explanation of my presentation of the predicate frames can be found in § 1.2, p. 18.

Chapter 3

(3.4b) <i>uya-</i>	"to come a (certain) way"
SUBJECT +	internal OBJECT
Agent	Route along which'

The basic predicate *pai-* is as a rule constructed with an expression of Direction and is never attested with an expression of Origin. The verb *uya-*, which can be constructed with an expression of Direction and of Origin, is in the majority of cases found with only one of the two and only rarely with both an expression of Direction and an expression of Origin (§ 3.1.2).

Local adverbs that are dependent on *pai-* and *uya-* specify or modify the direction of the movement that is denoted by *pai-* and *uya-* and sometimes also influence the construction of the predicate. A change in construction is clearly visible in the fact that in combination with *arha*, *katta*, *parā*, *āpā* and *ayam arha*, *pai-* can govern an expression of Origin, a construction not attested with the basic predicate *pai-*. When used with *arha*, *katta*, *sarā*, *parijan*, *kattan arha*, *peron arha*, *isturna arha* and *ser arha* the predicate *pai-* and, with a few of them, *uya-* can govern a noun in the accusative case. It is hard to define the function of the accusative with motion verbs like *pai-* and *uya-* with any degree of certainty. The same goes for the predicate *tja-*, which is constructed with an accusative, when it is used in combination with *appan*, *isturna arha* and *ser arha*.¹⁴⁹ It is possible that these accusatives serve as Objects with the derived predicates, but the formal criterion that Objects are the constituents that become Subject when the sentence is passivized cannot be checked by lack of examples of these verbs in the passive voice. The fact that the accusative with *katta pai-* alternates with a "perivative" ablative may indicate that the accusative with *katta pai-*, and subsequently also with the opposite expression *sarā pai-*, can better be described as markers of the Route along which the movement goes up or down.¹⁵⁰

A large group of dependent local adverbs are responsible for the use of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uya-*, to wit *anda*, *arha*, *katta*, *kottanda*, *sarā*, *parā*, *parrunta*, *parijan*, *ayam arha* and all the combinations of *arha* and a second local adverb. With local adverbs that in combination with *pai-* and *uya-* govern more than one constructions, the use of sentence particles can be restricted to particular constructions.

Independent local adverbs do not define the direction indicated by *pai-* and *uya-* and are not responsible for a change in construction or for the use of sentence particles with these verbs.¹⁵¹

On the basis of *pai-* and *uya-* the following derived predicates are formed. The occurrence of sentence particles with the predicate frame is indicated with the abbreviation sent. part.:

(3.5a) <i>anda pai-</i>	"to go (in)to, to enter"
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
Agent	Direction animate+inanimate

¹⁴⁹ See § 2.2.9, 2.2.11 and 2.2.12.

¹⁵⁰ See Friedrich (HE § 201b) and Melchert (1978: 20).

¹⁵¹ The distribution of dependent and independent use over the local adverbs in this chapter is shown in table 5.1 in § 5.1.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

(3.5b) <i>anda uya-</i>	"to come into, to enter"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.6a) <i>andan poi-</i>	"to go into, to enter"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.6b) <i>andan uya-</i>	"to come into, to enter"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.7a) <i>arja poi-</i>	"to go away from, to leave"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Origin animate+inanimate
(3.7b) <i>arja uya-</i>	"to come out of, to leave"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Origin animate+inanimate
(3.8a) <i>arja poi-</i>	"to go home to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.8b) <i>arja uya-</i>	"to come home to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.9) <i>arja poi-</i>	"to go through, to pass"
	SUBJECT + OBJECT'
	Agent Paternal inanimate
(3.10) <i>kutta poi-</i>	"to go down to, to descend to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate

Chapter 3

(3.11a) <i>katta pa-</i>	"to go down from, to descend from"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Origin inanimate
(3.11b) <i>kata uga-</i>	"to come down from, to descend from"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Origin inanimate
(3.12) <i>katta pa-</i>	"to go down through, to descend"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Route along which inanimate
(3.13a) <i>kattan pa-</i>	"to go (in)to (the presence of)"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction animate
(3.13b) <i>kattan uga-</i>	"to come (in)to (the presence of)"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction animate
(3.14) <i>kattan pa-</i>	"to go down to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.15a) <i>kattanda pa-</i>	"to go down into"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
	Agent Direction inanimate+animate ¹⁸²
(3.15b) <i>kattanda uga-</i>	"to come down into"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT ¹⁸² + sent. part.
	Agent Direction
(3.16a) <i>sarā pa-</i>	"to go up to, to ascend to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
	Agent Direction inanimate

¹⁸² This construction is only attested in absolute use.

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

(3.16b) <i>šarā uya-</i>	"to come up to, to ascend to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.17) <i>šarā uqa-</i>	"to come up from, to ascend from"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Origin inanimate
(3.18) <i>šarā pui-</i>	"to go up along"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Route along which inanimate
(3.19) <i>parā pui-</i>	"to go out to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.20) <i>parā pui-</i>	"to go on to, to go forward to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction animate+inanimate
(3.21a) <i>parā pui-</i>	"to go out of, to leave"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Origin inanimate
(3.21b) <i>parā uya-</i>	"to come out of, to leave"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
	Agent Origin inanimate
(3.22a) <i>āppa pui-</i>	"to go back to, to return \sqcap "
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate
(3.22b) <i>āppa uya-</i>	"to come back to, to return to"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction inanimate

Chapter 3

(3.23a) <i>appa poi-</i>	"to go back from, to return from"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Origin
	inanimate
(3.23b) <i>appa uua-</i>	"to come back from, to return from"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Origin
	inanimate
(3.24a) <i>appan poi-</i>	"to go after, to pursue, to support"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction
	animate
(3.24b) <i>appan uya-</i>	"to come after, to pursue, to support"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction
	animate
(3.25a) <i>appanda poi-</i>	"to go after, to follow, to pursue"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction
	animate
(3.25b) <i>appanda uya-</i>	"to come after, to follow, to pursue"
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction
	animate
(3.26) <i>israma poi-</i>	"to pass by"
	SUBJECT + sentence particle
(3.27a) <i>menahjanda poi-</i> "to go toward, to go against, to go to meet"	
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction
	animate+inanimate
(3.27b) <i>menahjanda uya-</i> "to come toward, to come against, to come to meet"	
	SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
	Agent Direction
	animate+inanimate

*The verb *pai-* and *uya-**

- (3.28a) *parrunda pai-* "to go across to, to go over to"
 SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Location + Direction
 inanimate inanimate+inanimate
- (3.28b) *parranda uya-* "to come across to, ■ come over to"
 SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT¹⁵³ + COMPLEMENT
 + sent. part.
 Agent Location Direction
 animate+inanimate inanimate+inanimate
- (3.29) *parijan pai-* "to go across ■, to go over to"
 SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT¹⁵⁴ + COMPLEMENT
 + sent. part.
 Agent Location + Direction
 inanimate+inanimate inanimate
- (3.30a) *parijan pai-* "to go across, to cross"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + sent. part.
 Agent Patient
 inanimate
- (3.30b) *parijan uya-* "to come across, to cross"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + sent. part.
 Agent Patient
 inanimate
- (3.31a) *ayan arha pal-* "to go away from, to leave"
 SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Origin
 animate+inanimate
- (3.31b) *ayan arha uya-* "to come away from, to leave"
 SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Origin
 animate+inanimate
- (3.32a) *kattan arha pal-* "to pass under, to pass below"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT / COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Patient / Location
 inanimate / animate+inanimate
- (3.32b) *kattan arha uya-* "to pass under, ■ pass below"
 SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Location
 inanimate

¹⁵³ The expression of Location is never explicitly mentioned.

¹⁵⁴ Always without explicit expression of Location.

Chapter 3

- (3.33a) *peran arha poi-* "to pass before, to pass in front of"
SUBJECT + OBJECT / COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
Agent Patient / Location
animate
- (3.33b) *peran arha uga-* "to pass before, to pass in front of"
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
Agent Location
animate
- (3.34) *appan arha poi-* "to pass behind"
SUBJECT + OBJECT + sent. part.
Agent Patient
animate+inanimate
- (3.35a) *istarna arha poi-* "to go through, to pass through"
SUBJECT + OBJECT + sent. part.
Agent Patient
inanimate
- (3.35b) *istarna arha uga-* "to come through, to pass through"
SUBJECT + OBJECT + sent. part.
Agent Patient
inanimate
- (3.36) *ker arha poi-* "to pass over, to pass by, to ignore"
SUBJECT + OBJECT + sent. part.
Agent Patient
inanimate

CHAPTER 4

The verb *dā-*, "to take, to fetch"

4.0 Introduction

The verb *dā-* is different from the verbs treated so far, in that we find constituents with *dā-* that have syntactic and semantic functions not attested with any of the motion verbs, like, for instance, the syntactic function Indirect Object. It also gives a different picture regarding the presence of local adverbs and sentence particles. The verb *dā-* was extensively treated by Ciantelli in Kammenhuber's "*Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus*" (1978-79). The part with the description of '*dā-* mit Adverbien' is not finished, the only local adverbs treated so far being *anda* and *appa*. For the treatment of the constructions of *dā-* without local adverbs this comprehensive description was a great help. The fact that the third person singular active *da-a-i* has the same form as that of *da-i*, "to place", sometimes leads to confusion about its provenance; see, for instance, § 4.2.1.

4.1 *Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs*

4.1.1 *dā- + Subject and Object*

In rituals, instructions and similar texts we often find *dā-* in the third person (singular or plural) of the present tense accompanied by a noun in the accusative case expressing the cult object that is taken by the Subject. The sentence with *dā-*, in these cases, denotes an intermediate action and generally a coordinated clause follows in which the act that is performed with the item taken is described.¹ This preparatory usage of *dā-* is found from Old Hittite onwards:

- (241-OH) "From the inner room they bring the troop(s); and the cups and the bronze spear.") [(LUG)]AL]-*ii* MUNUS.LUGAL-*a* [s=a t]eklumis danzi
"The king and the queen take the cups (and place them on the throne
and on the hearth.)"
KBo XVII 1+ II 4'-36' (CTH 436.1A) ed. Otten and Sourek (1969: 28-29),
translit. Neu (1980a: 8)²

¹ This usage of *dā-* was already described by Götze (1933b: 10 n. 1), who observed that in many cases *dā-* is "sehr hebungsschwach und erfordert ein zweites Verbum, um einen vollen Sinn zu bekommen". Similarly Ciantelli (1978-79: 1).

² Probably a statue representing troops. The phonetic complement -*an* indicates that ERIN.MEŠ-*an* refers to a singular noun.

³ Restorations from duplicate KBo XVII 3+, II 4'-6' (MS B).

This construction of *dā-* with an Object constituent only, surpasses the other constructions in number of attestations.⁴ The meaning of this bivalent *dā-* can be described as "to take (and use)". In (242-NH) we have an example of bivalent *dā-* in a passive sentence:⁵

- (242-NH) ("From which table I used to eat, from which cup I used to drink (...) nu *t̄l. kuitki dattar* "that nothing was taken (was determined by the deity.)"
KUB XII 27+ rev. 16-17, 20-21 (CTH 486.A) ed. Görze and Pedersen (1934: 10-11), transl. Kummel (TUAT 2.2: 291)

As expected, the constituent that functions as the Object of the predicate in active sentences, becomes the Subject when the sentence is put into the passive voice. This example also shows that the coordinated clause, which as a rule follows the sentence with bivalent *dā-*, is not always present. Nevertheless it is clear from the context that also in (242-NH) *dā-* has the meaning: "to take (and use)". The predicate frame of *dā-* in this usage can be formulated as follows:

(4.1)	<i>dā-</i> "to take, to fetch"	SUBJECT + OBJECT
		Agent Patient
		inanimate

In Old Hittite *dā-* is attested in a construction with an Object and an animate noun in the genitive case indicating the possessor of the Object:

- (243-OH) *dā LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-š-a miñ yājīn pittulius s(s)mus-a*
"Take the king's and queen's pain, woe and their anxieties."
KBo XVII 3+ IV 26-27 (CTH 416.1B) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 38-39),
translit. Neu (1980a: 17)

In the same Old Hittite text the removal of pain, woe and anxieties is described by means of a construction with *dā-* with an Object and an Indirect Object:

- (244-OH) *d[ā] l[hy]u(n) s smu(s s)a aji] n yāj[i]n pittulius s(s)mus-a* "I have
taken from them (their) pain, woe and their anxieties."
KBo XVII 1+ IV 39-40 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 38-39),
translit. Neu (1980a: 11)

The dative *-smus-a* in (244-OH) corresponds with the nouns in the genitive *LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-š-a* in (243-OH). Note that in both instances the possessive pronoun *-smu* "their" is added to the word *pittulius*, one of the three nouns functioning as Object. In Old Hittite examples of both constructions are found,⁶ but in later Hittite the

⁴ Compare the number of examples of bivalent *dā-* that are cited by Ciantelli (1978-79: 22-89), about 550, with that of the other constructions with an Indirect Object (1978-79: 109-126) and an Origin expression (1978-79: 142-153, 156), ca. 120 and 180 respectively.

⁵ Examples of passive forms of *dā-*, among which (242-NH), can be found in Ciantelli (1978-79: 219-230).

⁶ See Ciantelli (1979-79: 13-15). In her opinion the construction with the genitive is the older of the two. This is possible of course, but the only conclusion that can be drawn with any certainty from the available

The verb dā-

construction with the dative case is the only way to say by means of the predicate *dā-* that "something is taken away from somebody"; see § 4.1.3. The most important difference between both constructions is that in the one with the dative, *dā-* has a predicate frame implying a notion of removal, whereas in the other construction the fact that the Object is taken away must be inferred from the context and is not indicated by the syntactic or semantic function of the noun in the genitive that is added to the Object of bivalent *dā-* "to take, to fetch" (4.1). A direct result of this difference in construction is the variance in use of the sentence particles. The construction with the dative case in (244-OH) is accompanied by the particle *-aṣtu*, whereas the one with the genitive has no particle, as is the rule for trivalent respectively bivalent *dā-*; see § 4.1.6.

4.1.2 -za *dā-*

The various uses of -za *dā-* were described by Götz (1933b: 10–12), Ciantelli (1978–79: 183–218) and Boley (1993: 55–72). The overall function of *za-* is that it refers to the Subject and stresses the involvement of the Subject in the action of the predicate.⁷ Of the various uses of -za *dā-*, the following are specially interesting for our description of the predicate *dā-* in its use with local adverbs:

4.1.2.1 Lexical use of -za *dā-* + Subject and Object:

When used in combination with the particle -za, the predicate *dā-*, accompanied by a Subject and an Object, shows a variety of notions, which differ from the preparatory use of the basic predicate *dā-* "to take (and use)" described in § 4.1.1, and can be explained as the result of the addition of -za to the predicate *dā-*.⁸ In these various nuances the overall use of the particle -za can be defined as referring back to the Subject and emphasizing the involvement of the Subject in the action of the predicate (§ 4.1.2).

The combination -za *dā-* + Subject + inanimate Object is attested with the meaning "to take (for oneself), to take possession of" from Old Hittite onwards:

- (245-OH) ("If someone injures a man's head, formerly one used to give 6 shekels of silver.") *hūnikanza* 3 GIN KÜ.BABBAR *dāi ANA E.GAL* 3 GIN KÜ.BABBAR *da<3>kēr* "The injured party takes 3 shekels of silver (and) for the palace one used to take 3 shekels of silver." ("But now the king has abolished (the share) of the palace") *nu-za hūnikanza-pat* 3 GIN *d[ā]l[ir]* "and only the injured party takes 3 shekels."

evidence is that the one with genitive is typical of Old Hittite.

⁷ This usage "in Rückbezug auf die handelnde Person" (Götz and Pedersen 1934: 39, 75) or as "subjektrezipient" (Hoffner 1973a: 521) is now generally regarded as the basic function of -za. In an earlier article Götz (1933b: 3–16) recognized that -za can be used to refer back to the Subject of the predicate, but considered this function as secondary, describing the primary function of -za as giving "ingressiv-perfektivischen Sinn" to the verb. Convinced by Pedersen, he later modified this opinion stating that the original function of -za is that it refers back to the Subject. (cf. Götz and Pedersen 1934: 39, 75 (Götz) and 80–81 (Pedersen). See also Carruba (1969: 50), Friedrich (HE I: 239–244) and Boley (1993: 208–209 et passim).

⁸ See Hoffner (1973a: 521).

Chapter 4

KBo VI 2+ 1 13-15 (HG 1 §9, CTH 291.IA) ed. Friedrich (1959: 18-19), transl. Hoffner (1995: 218)

- (246-MH) ("And Maddugatta transgressed the oath (sworn) to the father of His Majesty") *nu = za KUR* ^{“*kt*”} *Arzauya h̄āman dāš* “and he took possession of the entire land of Arzauya.”
KUB XIV 1+ rev. 20 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 24-25)
- (247-MH) (“‘The land of Hapalla, which is a country of His majesty.’”) *[zi]g = a = gar = al k̄igat dātta* “why did you take it?”
KUB XIV 1+ rev. 56 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 32-33)

In (245-OH) *dā-* alternates with *-za dā-* in the meaning “to take (for oneself), to take possession of”. The same goes for *dā-* in (247-MH), which has the same connotation as *-za dā-* in (246-MH), both being passages from the Maddugatta text.”

The use of *-za dā- + Subject + inanimate Object* with the meaning “to put on one's clothes” occurs from Old Hittite onwards:

- (248-OH) (“[When it dawn])s, they o[pe]n and dra[w u(p)] the curtain.) [(LUGAL-
*us = za anijutta s̄e) i] d̄hi “The king puts on his gear.”
KBo XVII 11+ I 31'-32' (CTH 631.4A) ed. Neu (1970: 14-15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65)”*
- za dā- + Subject + animate Object* “to take a person (sexually), to take in marriage”:
- (249-NH) (“Because your country is uncivilized, in (your country) it is [...]”⁹ SA
SES = ŠU-za DAM = ŠL ^{“*šm*”} *namimangamit dâška| (nzi + pat)*)¹⁰ “They even sexually take the (lit: his) wife of one's brother or (his) cousin. (This is not allowed in Hattusa.)”
KBo V 3+ III 32-34 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 124-127) with improvements by Otten (1970: 164) and Klinger (1992: 193-194)¹¹
- (250-OH+) *takka = za HR-iš GEME-an dāi* “If an unfree man takes an unfree woman in marriage, (the provision) if the law is the same for them.”

⁹ See also ibid. v. 6, 50 ill. *DAM.MES = ŠU'DUMU MES = ŠU'NAM.RA.HI A = ŠUNU [a]H̄i = ga(h)umma = pat dāš* “he (=Kupanta) ^{“*LAMMA*”} took his (Maddugatta's) wives, sons, deportees and all his goods”, ed. Götze (1927: 12-13).

¹⁰ With restorations from the better preserved later copy KBo XVII 74+ I 31-32 (MS B).

¹¹ KBo V 3+ III 32 (MS A) has *še-me-ri-za-an KUR-e dāni-pa-u-pi ku-ut-an-de-an za-i-jan* SA, MS B (KBo XIX 44+) rev. 20-21 has [...] *KUR e dāni-pa-u-pi ka-i-kar-an-da-aš za-ah-ha-an / ŠA [SES = ŠU/ele.]*. Accordingly in MS A the lacuna at the end of III 32 can be restored as *za [a]-hi-jan* SA. The translation of *andin za(h)an* is far from clear. Otten (1970: 164) suggested “dāni/dazu ist es geprugelt” taking *dāni/dazu* as the participle of the verb *za(h)an* - “to beat”.

¹² The restoration is based on MS B; KBo XIX 44+ rev. 21 ‘*dāni-kani-zi-pat*’.

¹³ MS B indicates that SA, the last sign of line III 32, is to be connected with SES = ŠL; see Otten (1970: 164). Klinger (1992: 193-194) solved the problem of the interpretation of this well-known passage by showing that the sumengram *DAM* “wife” is to be read here instead of *NIN* “sister” in the edition by Friedrich (1930a: 124-127).

The verb dā-

KBo VI 3+ II 22 (HG I § 33, CTH 291.1B) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26–27), transl. Hoffner (1963: 35)

In the Old Hittite manuscript KBo VI 2+, *dā-* is used instead of *-za dā-*:¹⁴

- (251-OH) *takku iR-aš GEME-an dāi* "If an unfree man takes an unfree woman (and they [get children], when they divide their house, they shall divide their goods equal[ly].)"

KBo VI 2+ II 7–8 (HG I § 33, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26–27) and Hezay (1922: 26 n. 1, 27 n. 2), transl. von Schuler (TUAT 1.1: 101) and Hoffner (1995a: 221)

-za dā- + Subject + inanimate Object "to take, to accept":

- (252-OH+) [] "kinur ištanžana(n) = man ut kuiški dāš [:iŋ -a DU'MU s /] "Mursili
n = an = za zig dā" "[] Now nobody has accepted my will. You are my
son Mursili, you must accept it. (You must keep the words of your
father.)"

KBo I 16 III 26–27 (CTH 6) ed. Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 12–13)

- (253-MH) ("Let no one let [the soldier] escape") *nu = za maskan dā[ʃ]* "and accept
a bribe."

KBo XVI 24 I 19'–20' + KBo XVI 25 I 8'–9' (CTH 251.A) ed. Rizzi Mellini
(1979: 518–519)

The use of *dā-* instead of *-za dā-* mentioned in this section seems to be a characteristic of Old Hittite texts, an archaism only now and then showing up in a Middle Hittite text.¹⁵ The various expressions of the unity *-za dā-* all have a predicate frame with the following structure:

- (4.2) *-za dā-* + SUBJECT + OBJECT
 Agent Patient

- 4.1.2.2 *dā-* + Subject + inanimate Object and reflexive particle *-za* "to take (and use
for oneself)"

¹⁴ Cianchetti (1978: 79, 6) also cited the following example from the Huqqana treaty as an instance of *dā-* used instead of *-za dā-*: *SEŠ = [SU] NIN = SU' MI' M̄ ñamannatam UL [dāi]*. KBo V 3+ II 29 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 124–125). As shown by Otter (1978: 163), it is likely that the particle *-za* is to be read here after all: *SEŠ = za NIN = SU' MI' M̄ ñamannatam UL [dāi]* "A brother does not take his sister or his cousin".

¹⁵ Sommer restored [*halannatam*] "of my family" without *-za*. Note that in the following *n = an = za zig dā*, the particle *-za* is used.

¹⁶ Besides the examples in the Madduvalto text (§ 4.1.2.1) no other instances of this interchange from MH or NH historical texts are known to me. The use of the particle *-za* is on the whole more restricted in OH and even in MH texts it is occasionally missing, where one would later expect it. See Hoffner (1969 and 1973a).

In religious texts and instructions of all periods, there is often little difference in meaning between the use of -za *dā-* and preparatory *dā-* ‘to take (and use)’ described in § 4.1.1.¹⁷ In these instances the particle -za seems to be used in its original function indicating that the action in the predicate takes place for the benefit of the Subject ‘to take (and use for oneself)’.¹⁸ It should be noted that in some of these examples the function of -za is more manifest and indicates that the Object of *dā-* belongs to the Subject ‘to take (and use one’s own)’.¹⁹ Compare the following examples:

- (254-MH) ¹²*MESEDI*=*ma* ¹⁸*GU.2A dāi* ‘A guard takes the stool. (He leaves the palace attendants on the left.)’
IBoT I 36 IV 10–11 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32–33)
- (255-MH) (‘But if they (=the guards) follow the cart, they shall not follow holding staffs.’) ¹⁹*SUKUR.HI.A : za tanzi* ‘They shall take their spears’.
IBoT I 36 III 48–50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28–29)

In (255-MH) the guards take their own spears, the spears that are part of their kit, whereas the guard in (254-MH) takes the stool that was used to seat the king on the cart.

4.1.3 *dā-* + Subject + Object + Indirect Object

In § 4.1.1 we already saw an Old Hittite example (244-OH), in which *dā-* was constructed with an Object and an Indirect Object. This construction is very common in all phases of the Hittite language:

- (256-MH) ‘Write to me.’) *datten = ma + ssi + kan /E²⁰ kuitman kuitk[i]*. ‘In the meantime do not take anything from him.’
HKM 17 left edge 4–5 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 146–147)²¹

In this construction *dā-* can be described as a predicate indicating ‘transfer’, which besides a Subject and an Object requires a third argument denoting the person from whom the Object is being transferred. The syntactic function of the third argument of predicates marking transfer is defined as Indirect Object, a function which is typically expressed by the dative case and is restricted to animate nouns.²² Following Allerton

¹⁷ Ciantelli (1978: 191–192) divides this usage of -za *dā-* into two groups, one in which -za *dā-* means ‘to take (and keep)’ and another in which -za *dā-* is used instead of *dā-* ‘to take (and use)’. As admitted by Ciantelli, this distinction is very much a matter of subjective interpretation and no usable criteria are at hand; there are no differences in the construction, the use of sentence particles, or in the context of the examples.

¹⁸ Pedersen (in Götze and Pedersen 1924: 80–81) already described the original function of -za as that of a ‘datus etiūs’ of the reflexive pronoun. See § 4.1.2.1 n. 7 and Friedrich (HE 1 240).

¹⁹ See Hoffner (1973a: 573).

²⁰ The use of *ir* + imperative seems to be a typical feature of the Old Hittite language; see CHD (L-N, 56). The only other example in a later text known so far is *ir paidda* in XBo IV 10 otrv. 39 (CTH 106, Tuthaliya IV) ed. van den Hout (1995: 32), alternating with *ir paizz* in the bronze tablet Bo 86/299 II 15, III. Ötton (1988: 16).

²¹ This sentence makes good sense without the restoration of the additional verb *ha-w-ro-a-mi* behind *kuitk[i]* suggested by Alp.

²² This function of the dative has first been noted by Zuntz (1936: 22–23), in its use with *urha dā-*, and was later described by Güterbock (1943: 154). Starke (1977) convincingly showed that in Old Hittite the dative is restricted to animate nouns. For the distribution of the dative and ablative with *dā-* see further § 4.1.4.

The verb dā-

(1982: 55), the semantic role of this constituent will be called Loser to indicate that the constituent in question is directly involved in the action of the predicate as the living being losing the Object that is removed. The predicate frame of this trivalent *dā-*, "to take from" can be formulated as:

(4.3) <i>dā-</i> , "to take from"	SUBJECT	+	OBJECT	+	INDIRECT OBJECT
	Agent	Patient	Loser		animate

Not only human beings belong to the semantic category of animate nouns, but nouns denoting animals fall into this category as well.²³ It is, therefore, not surprising that we also find nouns denoting animals in the dative case with this trivalent *dā-*, albeit only in the expressions *anāhi dā-* + dative case "to take a test sample from (an animal)" and ²⁴ X *dā-* + dative case "to take a piece of meat from (an animal)":

- (257-NS) *n = aštu ana mušen*²⁴ \$A *dāi* "He takes the inner parts of a bird."
KBo VII 60 rev. II (CTH 706.II)

So far this construction is in conformity with the structure of predicate frame (4.3). Apparently in Hittite even dead animals are conceived as animate and can therefore fulfill the function of Indirect Object with *dā-*, "to take from". The construction with *anāhi dā-* and ²⁴ X *dā-*, however, is more generally used with inanimate nouns indicating pieces of meat and loaves of bread:²⁵

- (258-NS) [n = aštu]²⁴ AZU ANA²⁴ GABA *anāhi dāi* "The seer takes a test sample from the breast (part) ([and] places it in the oil.)"
KBo XIII 167 II 10 (CTH 628)

- (259-NS) ("Afterwards he breaks five thin breads and recites: 'āniš *harṣat* *giluš tēu*'") *nu : kam ana NINDA SIG.MEŠ anāhi dāi* "He takes a test sample from the thin breads (and dips them in the oil.)"
KBo XV 48 II 34-38 (CTH 628.IIa.A) ed. Wegner and Salvini (1991: 32, 34)

This clear-cut group of examples found in ritual and festival texts and the like forms the only exceptions to the rule that only animate nouns occur in the dative with *dā-*, "to take from".

If, in a given context, the Indirect Object is not explicitly mentioned, one always finds a sentence particle informing the reader that *dā-* + Object is to be interpreted as "to take from"; see § 4.1.6. When this construction of *dā* occurs in a sequence of clauses without sentence connectives, both the Indirect Object and the sentence particle can be omitted.²⁶

²³ See Starke (1977: 100) and Weitenberg (1987).

²⁴ For examples see Ciantelli (1978-79: 95-98 and 116-118).

²⁵ See the instances cited by Ciantelli (1978-79: 17-20). The rule she formulates, that in these cases either the dative and the sentence particle are repeated or none of the two, is challenged by examples like (261-lateNH); see § 4.1.5.

4.1.4 *dā- + Subject + Object + expression of Origin*

The predicate *dā-* can also be constructed with an inanimate noun in the ablative case indicating the place from which an item is removed.²⁶ This construction is widely attested and occurs already in Old Hittite:

- (260-OH) [kāša₂ a]šta LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL-ja uj̄in uj̄in pittuliušš = a [dāh
h] ja₁¹⁶ ŠU.A-kaz = (S)mit¹⁶ | NĀ -az = (S)mit¹⁶ i kurtaz = (S)mit¹⁶ tuggaz =
(S)mit dūlhyun "See, I have taken from the king and queen (their) pain,
woe and anxieties. From their throne, from their bed, from their heart,
from their body I took (it)." KBu XVII 7 + KBo XXV 7 + IBOT III 135 IV 5-7 (CTH 416.2) cf. Othen
and Souček (1969: 40-41), translit. Neu (1980a: 22)

In (260-OH) the ablatives ¹⁶ŠU.A-kaz = (S)mit, ¹⁶NĀ-az = (S)mit, kurtaz = (S)mit en tuggaz = (S)mit in the second sentence have the same position towards the predicate as the datives LUGAL-i and MUNUS.LUGAL in the first. This example shows that the ablative case is used with *dā-* to denote the thing from which something is taken and the dative case to mark the person from whom something is taken. Like the dative case, the ablative is required by *dā-* when meaning "to take from, to take out of", but it has a different semantic function with the predicate: The dative marks the person involved in and harmed by the action of the predicate, whereas the noun in the ablative is an adverbial expression describing the Origins of the action denoted by *dā-*. In this usage *dā-*, "to take from, to take out of" is also trivalent and has the following predicate frame:

(4.4) <i>dā-</i> , "to take from, to take out of"	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	+ COMPLEMENT
	Agent	Patient	Origin inanimate

This construction of *dā-* is in complementary distribution with the construction with the Indirect Object (4.3) described in § 4.1.3. The distribution of the dative and the ablative case with the predicate *dā-* seems to indicate that Starke's theory about the function of the dative in Old Hittite applies to Hittite texts of all periods.

4.1.5 *dā- with Indirect Object and Origin expression in partitive apposition*

Sometimes we find a combination of the two constructions of *dā-* described in § 4.1.3 and 4.1.4:

- (261-lateNH) ("Purify it, the body of Šuppiluliuma.") mān = si [(kan SAG.DU-za
kuiški tetanjan] dās māl(n = si KA×U-as̄ kuiški iššalli)] dās mān = si [i
IGI.HI A-as̄ kuiški iššamasaŋ²⁷] dās mān = si [i tetanuš kuiški
papratar = as̄ dās] "If anyone took away from him a hair from (his)

²⁶ The most common usage of the ablative in Hittite is marking separation; see Melchert (1977: 149). Sometimes the instrumental is used in this function of the ablative. See example (265-MH) + n. 37 in § 4.1.6.

Die verb. dā-

head. If anyone took away from him the spittle of (his) mouth. If anyone took away from him the perception of his eyes. If anyone took away from him the impurity of a hair."

KBo II 32 11'-31' (CTH 781) ed. Haas and Wegner (1988a: 166 Nr. 26)

The juxtaposition of the dative -*si* and the Origin expression SAG.DU-za in the first clause can be described as a case of partitive apposition of two nouns that do not coincide in case form or syntactic function, but are comparable in semantic function.²³ Given the repetition of the dative -*si* in the subsequent sentences, where the dative is not in partitive apposition, a translation with more emphasis on -*si* was preferred over a translation "If anyone took away a hair from his head", which would better reflect the function of the partitive apposition. The Origin expression in the ablative is replaced by an Attribute in the genitive case in the other clauses.²⁴

4.1.6 Use of sentence particles in sentences without local adverbs

No sentence particles are used in sentences with bivalent *dir-* (§ 4.1.1).¹¹ Sentences with *dir-+* Indirect Object always have a sentence particle, either *-aštu* or *-kan*. This habit is rooted in the Old Hittite language, where the particle *-aštu* seems to be preferred, although there are already examples with *-kan*.¹² The following example is the only Old Hittite exception. The construction is the same as in (244-OH) in § 4.1.1 and (260-OH) in § 4.1.4, but this time no particle is added:

(262-OH) [mān̩ i] [im yājūn pitulū] tss̩ : a LU] GAL-*i* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ja* [(d)]ašk
[(E)]mu "When I take pain, woe and anxieties from the king and queen."
KBo XVII 1+IV 14-15 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1989: 36-37),
translit. Neu (1980a: 111)¹⁷

Also in Middle and New Hittite a sentence particle, *-aita* or *-kam*, is obligatory when *dā-* is used with an Indirect Object.²⁷ There is one example of the particle *-apa* used in a sentence with *dā-* plus Subject and Object and a noun in the dative case:

²⁷ The meaning of *ritummasar* is actually "sense of hearing", but here it apparently refers to the visual faculty of the eyes. The Hittite word for power of vision is *unstar*.

^{2b} Both nouns describe "separation", be it from an animate noun (*Losen*) or an inanimate noun (*Origin*). A similar case of partitive adposition of a dative and an ablative with *me*, is described in § 3.1.1.2.

²⁴ For further examples see e.g. KUB XVII 10 (119-130) *z a māta* "Telemitu to get z setidulu z ūti dūlūmū "I took the body of Felipinu I took away his evil" (CTH 324.A. OH+) and KUB XXIV 44 (50-51) *kumuz a z ūti z kau kā ūti und jemundu UD-an hūmmeluz tugguz thskum" "See, now I take the blue day away from his whole body"* (CTH 402.A. MH+).

⁴¹ See also the remarks about the use of sentence particles with *du-* in (a group of) Middle Hittite texts by Hölscher (1969: 277–283).

¹¹ See KBo XVIII 11 11'-12' [10] *Jaatas sepi's kum ulamundan lili's däthlu[n]* "See, I have taken from you the slender of the population" (CPh 416 1A, OH) ed. Otto and Römer (1969, 18-19). The same construction of *Ja-* + *-kum* occurs in the three following sentences (*ibid.* 112'-13').

⁹ Restorations from duplicate KBo XVII.3+IV.10 (MS Bursahl Neu 1980a: 17).

¹¹ In the data collected by Cianelli (1978: 79, 113, 115–116), there are only five ‘*theht*’ exceptions (1978: 79; 94), three of which come from New Hittite manuscripts of the ‘*Genetkisprotokolle*’, 38 (Werner 1967), and one from a manuscript of the AN.TAH.SUM¹² Festival. The interpretation of the dative *-maš* in the only MH example, KBo VIII 35 III 61 [*ta uzu z nazi tuhunum dāni* (CTH 139.A)], is not certain. It could either indicate the Loser, ‘They have to take the smoke from us’, or the Beneficiary of *tuhunum dā-*, ‘They have to take the smoke for us’.

- (263-OH+) ("Formerly (cases of) bloodshed were numerous in Ḫattuša."). *nu = ya-*
at = apa DINGIR MEŠ-iš šallai haššannai dār¹⁴ "The gods took it out on
 the royal family."
 KBo III 1 II 48–49 (CTH 19.A) ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 190–191)
 and Hoffmann (1984: 34–35)

Since (263-OH+) is the only example of -*apa* with *dā-*, it is hard to tell whether the function of -*apa* is similar to that of -*ašta* and -*kan* with trivalent *dā-* or another nuance is intended here. Sturtevant's translation (1935: 191) "and the gods exacted penalty for it from the royal family" fits well into the context and can be explained as a special usage of *dā-* + Indirect Object "to take out on". Maybe this is what is indicated by the particle -*apa* in this passage.¹⁵

When *dā-* is accompanied by an Origin expression, one often finds -*ašta* or -*kan*, but there are a lot more exceptions than with the construction of *dā-* and an Indirect Object. In Old Hittite there are no examples of a sentence particle with an expression of Origin and the only examples in contemporary Middle Hittite texts, two instances in the Maṣat letters, are also without a sentence particle:¹⁶

- (264-MH) ("The barley and wheat that has been planted for Tapigga, Anziliqa, Harija and for Hatinqauya.") *nūm u apēz datta* "had you not taken (seed) out of that (seed). (they would have sown those ploughed fields.)"
 HKM 33: 11–17 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 220–221)
- (265-MH) *nāmnu ER[N]MIS šaramnūt dālūnum* "Then I took the troops away from the citadel"¹⁷ (and sent them to Bašpāra.)
 HKM 36: 34–36 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 184–185)

Most examples of *dā-* with an expression of Origin occur in ritual and festival texts, the majority of which are 13th-century copies of older texts, probably dating back to the Old or Middle Hittite period. In these texts we find this construction now with a sentence particle, -*kan* more often than -*ašta*, and then again without:

- (266-NS) ("The chief of table attendants enters.") *nus kan [iš] tu ^{GK}BANŠUR*
DINGIR¹⁸ | ^{NINDA}ugata[n] dāi "From the table of the god he takes

¹⁴ Hoffmann (1984: 35) takes *du-a-i-ir* as a form of the verb *du-*: "und die Götter haben sie (die Blüten) auf die Königsstiege gelegt". In that case the original opposition of *du-a-i-ir* (*du-a-i-ir*), belonging to *dā-*, with *du-i-it*, a form of *dā-*, would be lost here. See Neu (1974b: 259–260).

¹⁵ For other interpretations of -*apa* in this passage see Cianelli (1988–93), Kammenhuber (HW², A: 129) and Josephson (1972: 327–28).

¹⁶ For the Old Hittite situation see the remark by Otten and Soáček (1969: 83).

¹⁷ The precise meaning of *šaramnūt*, with the ablative *šaramna* and the instrumental *šaramnūt* is uncertain. According to Alp (1979) *šaramna* is the Hittite word for "palace". The more literal translation "palace superiore, citadel" has been proposed by Grégois (1988: 12b). If *šaramnūt* is indeed a noun and not an adverb, as suggested by Friedrich (HW: 184; HW 3.Erg: 2b), this would be the first example of an instrumental marking separation in a contemporary Middle Hittite text. Till now no certain examples were known of "Instrumentals of Separation" in original texts from the three successive phases of the Hittite language. Cf. Melchert (1977: 426).

The verb dā-

one wagata-bread (and) gives it to the chief of smiths (the city of) Arinna. He goes back and prostrates himself and he goes outside.)"
KUB II 6 V 36-43 (CTH 598.1A)

- (267-NS) *ta uštu^{GIS} BANŠUR DINGIR^{L/4} | ušpa^{ušpa} wagatan dāi* "From the table of the god he takes one wagata-bread."
KUB X 28 111-12 (CTH 598.1C)

From the fact that this construction of *dā-* is attested with ~~a~~ without accompanying sentence particle, Ciantelli (1978-79: 135-137) concluded that the use of *-uštu* and *-kan* is optional with this construction, a matter of style rather than syntax. It is, however, also possible that the habit to add a sentence particle to a sentence with *dā-* and an expression of Origin is a later New Hittite development. In that case the irregular use of the sentence particles in ritual and festival texts is a remnant of the older language, one of many archaic features reflecting the Old Hittite or Middle Hittite origin of these texts. Note in this respect also the use of the sentence connective *ta* in (267-NS).¹⁶

Whereas the use of *-uštu* and *-kan* is compulsory in all phases of the Hittite language in sentences of *dā-* and a dative case, this habit only started later, and maybe never was obligatory, when *dā-* is used with the ablative case. The explanation for this variance can be found in the diverse functions of both cases. The most common function of the ablative case is to mark separation.¹⁷ When *dā-* is accompanied by a noun in the ablative, this noun is interpreted as the Origin from which something is taken. The notion of removal expressed by *dā-* and an ablative case can be emphasized by adding the sentence particles *-uštu* or *-kan*, but is also apparent without these. The dative case, however, has a wider range of semantic functions, so that in this construction with *dā-* the sentence particles are needed to indicate that the predicate is expressing removal and means "to take from", therewith identifying the semantic function of the constituent in the dative case as Loser.

Finally it should be remarked that in cases of asyndeton, the force of a sentence particle from a previous clause carries over, see Hoffner (1973a: 526). An example of this habit can be found in (261-lateNH) treated in § 4.1.5, where we find a sequence of clauses with *dā-* governing an Indirect Object and an Origin expression in partitive apposition, of which only the first clause has the particle *-kan*.

The sentence particles *-uštu* and *-kan* are also found in sentences with *dā-* and an Object. In these cases we are not dealing with bivalent *dā-* "to take, to fetch" (4.1), but with instances of trivalent *dā-* "to take from, to take out of":

- (268-OH) *ta^{DUG-TU} -ja šaliga^{L/2} UR -uštu dāi* "He approaches the bowl and out (of it) he takes the (piece of) thigh-bone (and throws it back into the bowl and he runs off)."
KBo XVII 431 15'-16' (CTH 744.18) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)

¹⁶ The Old Hittite sentence connective *ta* is not found in Middle Hittite or New Hittite historical texts; see Melchert (1977: 19). As remarked by Weitenberg (1992: 309) in later Hittite "*ta* is used nearly exclusively in ritual texts, presumably as a stylistic device".

¹⁷ See Melchert (1977: 423 et passim).

- (269-MH) ("Concerning the matter of the troops of Isupitta about which you wrote to me:") III ME ERIN.MES = ya-kan da[h]h[u]n "I took 300 soldiers away (from them)." HKM 36: 29-31 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 184-185)
- (270-MH) ("See, whatever the servant has taken for herself and has stolen.") n-ašta apāt-e a III-3U dā "take away three times (the amount of) that too (and send) it to me." HKM 30: 23-left edge 2 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 174-175)

In these examples the particles -kan and -ašta indicate that dā- is to be translated as "to take from, to take out of". The animate or inanimate entity from which something is taken away is not explicitly mentioned, but has to be supplied from the preceding clause. This use of -kan and -ašta has been described as "anaphoric", since their function can be understood as referring to the previous clause. In (268-OH), for instance, the particle -ašta refers to the inanimate noun ¹⁰⁰11, and in (269-MH) -kan points back to the animate noun ERIN.MES ¹⁰¹12. These instances of anaphoric use of -kan and -ašta are in fact cases of absolute use of trivalent dā- "to take from" (4.3 and 4.4), in which the third constituent, be it the Indirect Object or the Origin expression, has to be supplied from the preceding clause. There are also examples in which dā- clearly means "to take away", but where no indication is given in the context, whether -kan and -ašta refer to an animate or an inanimate noun. In (270-MH), for instance, ašta dā can be interpreted as "take away (from her)" or as "take away (from that)". In these cases there is no need to choose, since practically speaking both translations amount to the same action.¹³

The following example has a more complex structure:

- (271-OH) ("A palace attendant takes the tongue of iron from the mouth(s) of the king and queen") kaltulipitt=šmit : ašta išg[ara]ni dāi "(and) he takes away what is attached to their fingers (and places them in their hands.)"
BBW XVII 1+1 18'-20' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 18-21), translit. Neu (1980a: 8)

Otten and Souček (1969: 21) translated (271-OH) as "Und (zwar) nimmt er mit ihren Fingern das 'Festgesteckte' weg". The interpretation of kaltulipitt=šmit as "with their fingers" raises many problems of interpretation.¹⁴ One cannot suppose that a palace attendant first takes the tongues of iron out of the mouths of the king and queen and that he then uses the fingers of the king and queen to remove the items from the tongues. Ciantelli (1978: 128-129) proposes to take kaltupi(t)=šmit as an instrumental marking

¹⁰⁰ For this anaphoric use of particles see the discussion of Zuntz (1936), Pedersen (1938) and Camiba (1985) in § 1.1 and Ciantelli (1978: 79-167, 176).

¹⁰¹ See also HKM 45 lower edge 16 ERIN.MES = ya-kan da-u-ten "Take the troops away (from them or from there)". In Alp's edition (1991b: 174-175, 184-185, 198-199) these examples are all translated as regular cases of bivalent dā- without a sentence particle.

¹⁰² In this interpretation the instrumental is an Adjunct of Means, which is the basic function of the instrumental in Hittite; see Melchert (1977: 174, 422).

separation "aus ihren Fingern". Although easy and simple this solution is not very probable in case of an original Old Hittite text. First of all there are no solid cases of instrumentals expressing separation in Old Hittite and secondly no construction of *dā-* with an Origin-expression is ever accompanied by a sentence particle in original texts from this period.⁴¹ Melchen (1977: 166–168) suggested that one should not construe the instrumental *kalutupitt̄* = *mit* with the main predicate *dā-*, but with the participle *išgaranta*: "what is fastened to / on / around their fingers". Unfortunately there are no direct parallels for *išgar-* governing a Complement in the instrumental meaning "to fasten or to attach to", but there are other verbs, for instance *taki-*, "to fasten, to put together" and *immiya-*, "mix, blend" that are constructed with a dative-locative and with an instrumental case.⁴² (271-OH), then, supplies us with an Old Hittite example of anaphoric *-asta* added to a construction of *dā-* with the Object constituent *išgaranta*. Note that *-asta dā-* can be understood as "to take away (from them)" and as "to take away (from their fingers)".

In cases of a sequence of clauses with trivalent constructions without sentence connectives, the sentence particle can be omitted; see (261-lateNH) in § 4.1.5.⁴³

4.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate *dā-*

The local adverbs treated in this section are all dependent on the predicate *dā-*. Sometimes the addition of the local adverb to the predicate *dā-* results in a new construction that is not attested with the basic predicate *dā-* (*anda*, *appa*) or *-za dā-* (*tanda*, *arha*), but in most cases the influence of the local adverb is limited to the semantics of the predicate, with some local adverbs more manifest (*katta*, *sara*, *pari*) than with others (*arha*). Since sentence particles are also found with constructions of the basic predicate *dā-*, the effect of the local adverb on the use of sentence particles is less conspicuous than with the predicates of motion treated in ch. 2–3, though not altogether absent.

4.2.1 *anda dā-*

The local adverb *anda* is only sporadically attested in combination with *dā-*. There are no certain Old Hittite examples of *anda* + *dā-* and only two complete later ones.⁴⁴ In the

⁴¹ For the function of the instrumental case in Old Hittite see Melchen (1977: 162–174) and § 4.1.6 with n. 42. The absence of sentence particles with *dā-* with Origin expression has been discussed earlier in this section.

⁴² The closest parallel for the construction suggested by Melchert is KUB XXXI 1+ KBo III 16 II 7' 8' (CTH 311.2A, OH+) *mā palzzi išpannit elkarit* ^{190.08} *lapallannit za kuřra* "When he goes (away) I will impale (him) on a spit and he will cut him with a *lapalli*." Although it is obvious to interpret both *išpannit* and ^{190.07} *lapallannit* as Adjuncts of Means, see Güterbock (1938: 53) and Puhvel (HBD, Vol. 2, 416), it is also possible that *išpannit* is governed by *išgar-*, like in English "to impale on a spit" and Dutch "aan het spit steken", "aan een spies ragen".

⁴³ This is in agreement with the observation by Hoffner (1973a: 526) that in these cases "sentence enclitics" carry over.

⁴⁴ A possible Old Hittite example is discussed in § 4.4.1. Other examples are too fragmentary to decide whether they belong to the paradigm of *dā-* or that of *du-*. Ciantelli (1978–79: 230) quoted KUB XXXI 1274 14–5 (CTH 372.A), but this is no evidence for *anda* + *dā-*. Instead of *zak-pat hanunza anda genzu duškū*, see ed. Güterbock (1958: 241), one has to read: *zak-pat han-un-du-za DINGIR-uf (sic) ge-en-zu-du-as-ki-si* "You alone are a just god, you alone are having mercy?" In a later article Güterbock corrected this

Chapter 4

following instance we have an example of *-za anda dā-* accompanied by an inanimate noun in the dative-locative:

- (272-NH) *ANĀ KUR.KUR ¹⁸⁰ Hattij-ma-za-kan ZAG.HI.A ANĀ ZAG.HI.A [a(nda dā)l]hun* 'To the Hatti lands I added territory to territory. (Those (kings), who were enemies at the time of my fathers and forefathers, concluded peace with me.)'
S_BT 24: IV 57-59 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 26-27)

In (272-NH) the local adverb *anda* is added to the predicate *-za dā-* "to take possession of" (§ 4.1.2.1) changing both its meaning and construction. In the combination *-za anda dā-* "to (take and) add to" a third constituent is needed indicating the thing to which something is added. This constituent is marked twice, first by *ANĀ KUR.KUR ¹⁸⁰ Hattij* and then again by *ANĀ ZAG.HI.A*. These nouns coinciding in case form and in function are in partitive apposition, the first denoting the whole and the second the part.⁴⁷ Accordingly, this instance can also be translated as "I added territory ■ the territory of the Hatti lands".

The following passage from the Instructions for the *Bēl Madgalti* is also likely to be an example of *anda dā-*:⁴⁸

- (273-MH+) "Inside (sc. in the fortress) nobody (is supposed to) light a fire and into the walls no cattle, sheep, "⁴⁹ horse, mule (or) donkey is admitted".) *anūzēnāšš-sa-kan anturiāšš-sa ANĀ AN.ZA.GĀR.GIS⁵⁰ "zuppuru anda lē kūl[k]i dāi* "Let no one take (fire)wood (or) a torch into both outer and inner towers." KUB XXXI 86+ 1203/u II 23'-27' (CTH 261.2) ed. von Schuler (1957: 43-44) and Otten (1971: 46)

The above translation follows von Schuler's (1957: 44) "nehme niemand hinein", which seems to fit well in with the previous line, where we find a stipulation about animals that are not to be brought inside the walls. In this interpretation, the combination *anda dā-* is used here with the meaning "to take into" and governs the expression of Direction *anūzēnāšš-sa-kan anturiāšš-sa ANĀ AN.ZA.GĀR* "into both outer and inner towers". This *anda dā-* is comparable with combinations like *anda peda-* "to carry into" or *peñute-* "to lead into", which also govern an expression of Direction and have a sentence particle.⁵¹ A translation "Let no one place (fire)wood (or) a torch in the towers, which one would get when taking *da-a-i* for a form of *dai-* "to place", seems less suited to this context.

⁴⁷ older reading (1980: 43).

⁴⁸ This construction was treated in § 4.1.5. Cf. Friedrich (HB: § 213).

⁴⁹ See Ciantelli (1978-79: 230).

⁵⁰ Laroche (1957: 127) emended von Schuler's reading *BELU* to *GU*, *UDU*.

⁵¹ See the treatment of *anda peñute-* in § 5.3, p. 148.

The verb *dā-*

4.2.2 *arha dā-*⁵¹

The combination *arha dā-* "to take away from" is attested with various constructions of the basic predicate *dā-* and always shows a sentence particle, *-kan* more frequently than *-asta*.⁵² First and foremost *arha dā-* is found with an Indirect Object:

- (274-MH) *n = an = ū = kan arha dā* "Take it away from him".
HKM 11 left edge 2:3 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 282–283)
- (275-MH) ("Whatever guard (is) of high rank") *nu = ū = kan* ⁵³GIDRU *arha dāi*
"takes the staff away from him."
IBoT I 36 I 23–24 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 6–7)

There is one broken example of *arha dā-* in an Old Hittite original, which possibly shows the same construction:⁵⁴

- (276-OH) [] *lūlāmūš hūm[an]duš DINGIR MEŠ-ak arha dā[u][e]ni* "We will
take away the pieces of clay [] from all the gods."
KBo XIX 156+ II 16 (CTH 752.1A) translit. Neu (1980a: 222)

A few isolated instances have the particle *-ian* instead of the regular sentence particles *-asta* or *-kan*.⁵⁵ The local adverb *arha* is also attested with *dā-* in combination with an expression of Origin:

- (277-NS) *n = aštu GAL DUMU E GAL II NINDA.GUR.RA* ⁵⁶BANŠUR-az *arha dāi*
"The chief of palace attendants takes two thick breads away from
the table."
KUB II 13 I 59–60 (CTH 591.5A)

In contrast with the basic predicate *dā-* with an Origin expression (§ 4.1.4), this construction of *arha dā-* is always accompanied by a sentence particle.

Also the combination of an Indirect Object and an expression of Origin in partitive apposition is found with *arha dā-*; see (302-NS) in § 4.2.6.

Sometimes *arha dā-* only occurs with an Object. In these cases the third argument, indicating the person from whom or the thing from which something is removed, can be supplied from the context:

⁵¹ The use of the local adverb *arha* with *dā-* has already been treated by Zuntz (1936: 22–23).

⁵² An example of *arha dā-* with *-ian* is cited at (302-NS) in § 4.2.6. In the Horstetraining text of Kikkuli *arha dā-* occurs without a sentence particle; see for instance (300-MH+) and (301-MH+) in § 4.2.6. In this text *-kan* is regularly omitted where one would expect it. See Zuntz (1936: 108), Kammerhuber (1952: 84 and 1961: 332) and Neu (1986: 159).

⁵³ This instance is further discussed in § 5.2.

⁵⁴ See e.g. KUB IX 27+ I 23–24 *nu = ū = ū = ū* ⁵⁵GB *hūrša* ⁵⁶lūlāmūš *arha dā[u]e]ni* "I take the spindle and distaff away from him" (CTH 406, NS), ed. Holler (1987: 272, 277) and (302-NS) in § 4.2.6.

Chapter 4

- (278-NH) ^{UR}*Hattušan =ma kuit [ipē arha n = an = kan arha] dahiwi*
 "The (inhabitants of) Hattuša, which he had with him, I took away
 (from him) (and I resettled them all.)"
 StBoT 24: II 26–27 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 12–13)

These cases of absolute use of *arha dā-*, with sentence particle, are comparable with the examples of *dā-* with an Object and "anaphoric" sentence particle treated in § 4.1.6.

The influence of *arha* on the meaning of *dā-* is rather modest, a difference comparable with that between "to take away from" and "to take from". With regard to the use of sentence particles it can be observed, that *arha* is responsible for the, now mandatory, use of *-ku* or *-as* in the construction with Origin expression.

The combination *arha dā-* is also attested with the particle *-za*. In the following instance the combination *-za arha dā-* is used with an expression of Origin:

- (279-NH) ("They lead (that) one prisoner and (that) one woman in front of him
 (=the king.)" *nu = za = kan NI.TE = SU ^UNI.G.LAM.MEŠ arha dāi* "He takes
 off (his) garments from his body (and they clothe the man with them.)"
 KBo XV 119–11 (CTH 407.A) ed. Kummel (1967: 112–113)

Here *-za arha dā-*, "to take off one's clothes", seems to denote the opposite of the expression *-za dā-* "to put on one's clothes" (§ 4.1.2.1). In (280-NS) the enclitic personal pronoun *-šmas* is used as a reflexive pronoun replacing the particle *-za*.

- (280-NS) ("When the days of conciliation arrive and when in the city a statue
 of the son of the Stormgod or a temple of the son of the Stormgod is
 present, then the priests and the 'mothers of god' wash themselves.")
KH.UU = ma = šmas = kan SAG DU = arha dāni "They take off the circlets
 from their heads (and they enwrap their heads with white headbands.)"
 KUB IX 15 II 24–III 3 (CTH 456.1A) ed. Souček (1963: 375–376)

In these examples the particle *-za* indicates that a piece of clothing or the like is taken away from the Subject, whereas the part of the body from where it is taken is explicitly denoted by the Origin expressions *NI.TE = SU* and *SAG.DU =*. In the following example we find *arha* with a somewhat different use of *-za dā-*:

- (281-NS) ("When in Hattuša a great loss occurs, on which occasion either the king
 or the queen becomes a god.") *nu = za = kan hūmūnza salili ammīnza*
^{UR}*SHIŠKUTI ^{SHI} = SU arha dāni* "everyone great (and) small removes
 their drinking-straws (and starts to mourn.)"
 KUB XXX 16+ KUB XXXIX 11–5 (CTH 450.1A) ed. Otten (1958: 18–19)

²⁵ See Souček (1963: 376). The translation of this example by Zuntz (1936:22) "den Kranz aber nehmen sie ihnen vom Kopf weg" is not correct in the present context. For the use of datives of the enclitic personal pronoun instead of the particle *-za* see Friedrich (HE § 139). There are no examples of the use in Old Hittite originals. For the replacement of *-za* by the enclitic personal pronoun in nominal sentences see Hoffner (1973a: 52ff).

The verb dā-

Here the combination *-za arha dā-* simply seems to mean "to take away something from oneself" or "to take away something (that is one's own)". In this use *-za arha dā-* can be described as the opposite of *za dā-*, "to take (for oneself), to take (one's own)": see § 4.1.2.2.⁵⁶ It is not surprising that we do not find an Indirect Object or an expression of Origin with this use of *-za arha dā-*, as one would expect with combinations of *arha* and *dā-*, since the particle *-za* indicates that the person from whom something is taken away is the Subject.

4.2.3 *katta dā-*

The local adverb *katta* is attested with *dā-* in two different constructions. It occurs in the expression *zahyjaz katta dā-* + Object and *-kan*, "to take down in battle":

- (282-NH) *nu-kan* ⁵⁷ *Aripšan* ⁵⁸ *Dukkamann-za zahyjaz katta dahlyun* "I took down Aripšan and Dukkama in battle. (The deportees, which I, My Majesty, led back to the palace, (were 3000 (in number).)"
KBo III 4 IV 39-41 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 134-137)

In this construction *katta dā-*, "to take down, to tear down, to destroy" is comparable with predicates like *harnink-* and *harganu-*. The ablative *zahyjaz* functions as an Adjunct of Manner.

With the literal meaning "to take down", *katta dā-* is found with an expression of Origin:

- (283-NS) ("Then they give the effigy on the sitting chariot to drink, (...)") *ne-ašta ALAM 157* ⁵⁹ *gink alannaš katta danzi* "Then they take the effigy down from the sitting chariot. (On forehand a tent has been put up on that same spot and they carry (it) into the tent.)"
KUB XXX 24 II 8-9, 12-14 (CTH 450) ed. Otten (1958: 60-61)

In this use *katta dā-*, "to take down from" denotes the opposite of *šarā dā-*, "to take up from, to lift up out of"; see § 4.2.4. In all instances of this construction with Origin expression the particle *-ašta* is present.

4.2.4 *šarā dā-*

The local adverb *šarā* is found with the three constructions of the basic predicate *dā-* and shows the same pattern in the use of sentence particles.

When combined with an Object, *šarā dā-* expresses several nuances, all of which are also present in the English compound verb "to take up". As in the case of bivalent *dā-*, no sentence particle is used. As illustrated by (284-MH), *šarā dā-* can be used in the literal sense "to take up, to lift up":⁶⁰

⁵⁶ For a similar example see KUB I.VII 79 rev 11 36 n. 5 [at] *=za=kan arha dā[i]*, "He takes it away from himself". This text belongs to the Hantijašu-narrative (CTH 395.1D); see van den Hout (1990: 428).

⁵⁷ This instance was cited by Boley (1989: 281).

Chapter 4

- (284-MH) *nu lajhurnuzi [Q]ADU NINDA.KUR.RA.HLA tārupušš-a šarā dāi* "He takes up the *lajhurnuzi* together with the thick breads and the *turappa*-breads (and places them in front of the statues.)"
 KBo XV 10+ 29 (CTH 443) ed. Szabó (1971: 24–25)

In this case the Object depending on *šarā dāi* is always an inanimate noun. When found in a military context it is used in the sense of "to take along" or "to carry along" as booty⁵⁸

- (285-NH) ("Because Arma-Tarhunta was a blood-relative ~~of~~ mine (and) in addition he was an old man, he aroused my pity and I let him off. (...)")
 [AŠĀ + m(a takšan šarran ſar)]ā dahlun "However, I took along half [of (his) estate] (and gave it back again to Arma-Tarhunta.)"
 StBoT 24: III 25–29, 29–30 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 18–19)

- (286-NH) ("And I burned down the country of Piggainarešša") NU NAM.RA + ma = at
 UDU, UDU šarā dahlun "and I took it along together with deportees, cattle (and) sheep (and brought them back home ~~in~~ Hattuša.)"
 KBo III 4 IV 30–32 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götz (1933a: 128–131)

In combination with an Object denoting a human being *šarā dāi* can have a favorable connotation and mean "to take up (into one's care), to adopt":

- (287-NH) ("Thus (speaks) His Majesty Šuppiluliuma, king of Hatti land.") kūlu
 tuk "Huqqanañ appezzir UR GI-an šarā dahlun "See I took you up,
 Huqqana, an underdog (lit.: rearmost dog)."⁵⁹ (and I treated you well.)"
 KBo V 3+ 11-5 (CTH 42.1A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 106–107)

- (288-NH) ("And Muqattalli, my brother, honoured Mittannamuya and pushed him forward and gave him Hattuša. Also my good will towards him was evident.") "Puronda-A A-an = ma DUMU" "Mittannamuya dāi "But he took Purandamuja, the son of Mittannamuya, (and made him chief of scribes. After my brother had become a god.)" "Urhi-U-upin = ma
 DUMU ŠEŠ-a šarā dahlun "I took up Urhiteššup, my nephew, (and installed him in kingship.)"
 KBo IV 12 obv. 15–21 (CTH 87) ed. Götz (1925: 42–43)

Note that in the first Hittite sentence of (288-NH) *dāi* "to take" is used with the connotation of *šarā dāi* "to take up (into one's care)", which is found in the second Hittite

⁵⁸ This use of *šarā dāi* is frequently attested in the Annals of king Muršili II and described by Götz in the index of his edition (1933a: 31) as "aufnehmen (und an einen anderen Ort zu bringen)". This description does not apply to all instances of *šarā dāi* in the Annals of Muršili II. See, for instance, *nu ya = tu ABU = JA Šarā dāi* "and my father took you up" KUB XIV 39. ed. Götz (1933a: 72–73).

⁵⁹ The reading *appezzir UR GI-an* "letzter Hund" was proposed by Eichner, in an unpublished lecture at the Pavia conference of 1993, instead of *UR.SAG-an*. See Klüger (1992: 192 + n. 42). The traditional reading *appezzir UR.SAG-an* was translated by Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 92) as "a down-at-the-heels paladin".

The verb *dā-*

sentence.⁶¹ This use of the basic predicate with a notion otherwise belonging to a combination of the predicate with a local adverb can be compared with the feature of *simplex pro composito* in Latin grammar. The same phenomenon is attested with *parā dā-* in (298-NH) in § 4.2.6. In these instances *dā-* is constructed with an animate Object, whereas in "regular" instances of bivalent *dā-* ("take (and use), the Object is always an inanimate noun; see § 4.1.1.

On the other hand *šarū dā-* can be used in the sense of "to arrest a person"; cf. English "to take up a person" and Dutch "iemand oppakken":

- (289-NH) ("If one of his servants revolts against Kupanta-^bLAMMA and he comes to you,") *n = an šarū dā* "you have to take him up (and give him back to Kupanta-^bLAMMA.)"
KUB XIX 6+ III 40–42 (CTH 76.A) *ed.* Friedrich (1930a: 72–73)

There is one instance of -za *šarū dā-* with an Object and -kan:

- (290-MH+) ("But if some shepherd or cowherd contrives deception on the road and exchanges the fattened ox or sheep") *nu = za = kan huppar šarū dāi*. "and he scoops (up) payment."
KUB XIII 4 IV 63–64 (CTH 264.A) *ed.* Sturtevant (1934: 396–397) and Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 166–167)

The context suggests that in this isolated example of -za *šarū dā-* the literal translation "to take up for oneself" must be understood in the negative sense of "to scoop (up) payment above one's regular wages."⁶² Elsewhere in this text the expression *za dā-*, "to take (for oneself)" is used; see § 4.1.2.1.⁶³ The presence of -kan is somewhat surprising, since neither bivalent *šarū dā-* nor -za *dā-* has a sentence particle. In another manuscript -za *šer dā-* is used with this notion of -za *šarū dā-*; see (295-MH+) in § 4.2.5.

The combination *šarū dā-*, "to take up from, to lift up out of" is also attested with an Origin expression and the sentence particle -alta or -kan:

- (291-NS) ("They take the bones with a silver *huppa* and they put them into perfumed oil in a silver *huppar*-vessel.") *ISTI' I.DUG.GA: ma = at = kan šarū daskanzi* "They lift them up out of the perfumed oil (and place them on a *gazzamuli*-cloth.)"
KUB XXX 15+ obv. 3–5 (CTH 450.1A₂) *ed.* Otter (1958: 66–67)

This construction of *šarū dā-* is already found in Old Hittite. Like in the corresponding construction of the basic predicate *dā-*, no sentence particle is used:

⁶¹ The same alternation of *šarū dā-* with *dā-* can be found in KUB I 1+ IV 62 and *ibid.* IV 64–65 (CTH 81). *ed.* Otter (1981: 28–29). See also Götz (1930b: 32, 36) and Ciamelli (1978–79: 3).

⁶² Cf. the Dutch expression "geld opstrijken"

⁶³ See e.g. KUB XIII 4 148–49 *su = imas šumer LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR.LÍI* *huppar daskanni* "and (if) you, temple officials, take payment (for yourself).", where the enclitic personal pronoun -šmaš is used instead of -za. See n. 55 in (280-NS) in § 4.2.2.

Chapter 4

- (292-OH) [DING]IR.DIDL-*ša* DUMU MEŠ-*uš* A.AB.BA-*az* *šarā dāir* "The gods, however, lifted the children up from the sea (and brought them up)." KBo XXII 2 obv. 4-5 (CTH 3) ■ Orten (1973: 6-7)

Instances of absolute use are attested from Old Hittite onwards:

- (293-OH) |("Three thick breads and a libation ~~if~~ *mamuan* are lying (there already). (...)") *t=niš-zi(š)tu šarā turēni* "We lift these up. (The king and queen are (present).)" KBo XVII 3+ ■ 20, 22 (CTH 416.IA) ed. Othen and Souček (1969: 38-39), translit. Neu (1980a: 17)

The presence of *-ašta* indicates that we are dealing with the construction of *šarā dā-* "to take up from". The place from where the Object is lifted up is not explicitly mentioned. There are a few instances of *šarā dā-*, "to take up from, to pull along from" with a dative marking the Indirect Object:

- (294-NS) ("[The]n I went to Zalpa [and] destroyed [i]t") *niš-zi DINGIR.MEŠ = ŠI šarā dakhun* "and its gods I took along from there." KBo X 219-10 (CTH 4) ed. Imparati (1965: 44-45), translit. Kunimel (TUAT 1.5: 459-460)

The fact that no sentence particle is present here is remarkable. Even in original Old Hittite texts, this construction ~~if~~ *dā-* with an Indirect Object as a rule has *-ašta* or *-kan* and similar later examples also have *-kan*.⁶³ Note that in (294-NS) the personal pronoun *-i* resumes the inanimate place name ^{1.10}*Zalpa*.⁶⁴

4.2.5 -za *šer dā-*

There is only one example of the combination *-za šer dā-*, with Object and *-kan*:

- (295-MH+) *niš-za-kan ŠAM šer datteni* "and you scoop (up) payment." KUB XIII 6 II 8 (CTH 264.B) ed. Sturtevant (1934: 372-373)

This use of *-za šer dā-* coincides in construction and meaning with the expression *-za šara dā-* with Object and *-kan*, which is used in a passage from a parallel manuscript of this text cited in § 4.2.4 as (290-MH+).⁶⁵ In both expressions the literal meaning "to take up for oneself", has the negative connotation "to scoop (up)" payment above one's regular wages. The combinations *-za šarā dā-* and *-za šer dā-* are both accompanied by the particle *-kan*.

⁶³ See e.g. ^{1.10}*USA = (St)NU = (a)šmaš = fun lard dāi* "Their innerparts I took (up) out of these" KUB XLV 47+ II 15 (CTH 494, MH). Here *-šmaš* refers to dead birds. Similarly KBo V 1 ■ 14-15 (CTH 476, NS).

⁶⁴ The same expression is found further on in the same text *diššu = ma = ŠI šarā dakhun* KBo X 219-20. There *-i* refers back to the plural KUR.KUR.MEŠ of 1.19. See also 1105-NS in § 3.2.3 and Götterbock (1983).

⁶⁵ A third manuscript again has *-za šer dā-*: *[niš-za-kan ŠAM šer datteti]* KUB XIII 5 II 25 (CTH 264.C).

4.2.6 *parā dā-*

Like *šurā dā-* in § 4.2.4, the combination *parā dā-* is attested with the three constructions of the basic predicate *dā-* and shows the same pattern in the use of sentence particles.⁶⁶ The construction of *parā dā-* + Object is found from Old Hittite onwards. The object can be both an inanimate and an animate noun:

- (296-OH) *t₁ kapumu AŠA parā dāš* "and a field of one *kapumu* he picked out."
KBo XXII 1: 14'-15' (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 46-47)

- (297-NH) ("and (the Egyptian queen) wrote to him thus: 'My husband died. I do not have a son, but they say you have many sons. If you were to give me one of your sons, he would become my husband.'") *IR₂A₂ma₂ya nūmān parā dāhhi* "I do not want to pick out a subject of mine (and make him my husband.)"
KBo V 6 III 10-15 (CTH 40; IVA) ed. Guterbock (1956: 94), transl: CHD (L-N: 471-472)

The meaning of *parā dā-* in this construction can be described as "to take, to pick out, to select". Note that no sentence particles are used here. In (298-NH) below we find a direct report of the statement in (297-NH), made earlier in the same text. This time the basic predicate *dā-* is used instead of the combination *parā dā-*.⁶⁷

- (298-NH) ("He who was my husband has died on me. I do not have a son.")
IR₂A₂ma₂ya nūmān dāhhi "I do not want to take a subject of mine."
KBo V 6 IV 4-6 (CTH 40; IVA) ed. Guterbock (1956: 96); transl: CHD (L-N: 471-472)

Another construction found with *parā dā-* is with Indirect Object:

- (299-MH) *n=an₁:ti₁, kam parā dī* "Take it away from him (and send it to me.)"
HKM 94: 5'-6' (CTH 199) (Alp 1991b: 296-297)

In this construction with an Indirect Object, *parā dā-* "to take away from, to take out of" is very similar in meaning to *arha dā-* "to take away from". In the following passages from the Kikkuli text *parā dā-* alternates with *arha dā-*.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ See also the earlier treatment of *parā dā-* by Zimic (1936: 70-71).

⁶⁷ This feature, which can be described as "complex pronom composite", is also attested with *šurā dā-*; see the discussion ad (288-NH) in § 4.2.4. In the case of *parā dā-* the *compositum* is already attested in Old Hittite.

⁶⁸ According to Kammenhuber (1952: 85-86) the local adverb *parā* and *arha* are nearly kept distinct in the Kikkuli-text. In her opinion, *parā dā* in (300-NH+) is used to denote the removal of the bridle, the older type of which supposedly had a mouthpiece attached to it, out of the mouth of the horse, while *arha* is used to describe the removal of the covers from the back of the horse. The use of *arha* in (301-NH+) and elsewhere in tablet III and IV of this text would be caused by the presence of TÜG.HI.A in the same phrase, the removal of which cannot be adequately described by means of *parā dā*.

Chapter 4

- (300-MH+) ("[But when the horses per]spir[e⁶⁰] and their sweat] [comes.]")
 nu = [§] m[aš^{KL'S}] KIR₂.TAB.ANŠE p]arā danz[i nu = šnuš^{TUG.HLA⁶¹}] arha
 danz[i "they take away from them (their) bridle and they take away
 from them (their) blankets."
 KUB I 13+ II 22–23 (CTH 284.I) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 60–61)

In tablet III and IV this same action is described by means of **arha dā-**, again without a sentence particle:

- (301-MH+) nu = šmaš^{KL'S} KIR₂.TAB.ANŠE TÜG.HLA = *in arha danzi* "and they take
 away from them (their) bridle and blankets".
 KBo III 2 obv. 27 (CTH 284.IV) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 130–131)

As a rule the presence of -kan or -ašta is expected with *parā dā-* and an Indirect Object. As shown by Kammenhuber (1952: 84 and 1961: 332), the omission of -kan in constructions where one would expect it, is a peculiarity of the Kikkuli text.

We also find *parā dā-* with an Indirect Object and an expression of Origin in partitive apposition:

- (302-NS) ("Then what black shirt he has put on, the old woman tears from him
 from top to bottom."⁶²) ⁶³"GADA.DAM GE₂ = *ju = ki = kan* GUR-az *parā dāl*
 ištu GEŠTU.HLA = *štu = si = kan* ⁶⁴"eljuratius GE₂"⁶⁵ *arha dāl* "and she
 takes the black gaiters away from his feet and she takes out of (or:
 from) his ears the black woollen stuffing (and she speaks as follows:)"
 KUB VII 53 + KUB XII 58 **in** 41–45 (CTH 409.A) ed. Goetze (1938: 14–15)

In this example the meaning of *parā dā-* and *arha dā-* are again very similar. In the edition by Goetze (1938: 17) the alternation *parā / arha* is rendered by "to draw off" as opposed to "to take out of". The interpretation of *arha dā-* in (302-NS) as "to take out of" or "to take away from" totally depends on the interpretation of the unclear ⁶⁶*eljuratius*, whether it is something that is put in or around the ears of the horse. The use of the sentence particle -kan is exceptional, both with *parā dā-* and with *arha dā-*.⁶⁷

There are also examples of absolute use, with -kan:

- (303-NS') ("[If the] child' dies in the birth-stool', then the *patili*-priests take
 up' | the child, and they take him to a different spot. And [as are
 their] instructions, so they treat him. And the birth-stool' they take.
 [And as] are their instructions, so they act.") [*n]amma = kan* "*patili*
 DUMU.NITA *parā dāl*" "Then the *patili*-priest takes the male child away."
 Bo 4951 rev. 6'-10', ed. Beckman (1983: 124–125)

⁶⁰ This translation of *allaniya-* has been suggested by Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 28). Kammenhuber (1961: 61 note a and HW², A 55) proposed "to become agitated".

⁶¹ For this restoration see Kammenhuber (1952: 75–78).

⁶² The interpretation of *n]ut = ii = kan* ⁶³"*štu* *GI* *ier katta iškallaizt*" is difficult. Puhvel (HED, Vol 2, 413–414) connects the local adverb *štu* with the pronoun -si. Goetze translated *ier katta iškallaizt* as "to tear from top to bottom" and interpreted -si as "literally upon him/her" (1938:n. 26a).

⁶⁴ See also § 4.2.2. with n. 52.

The verb dā-

In (303-NS) the removal of a dead male child (from the mother') is described.⁷³ The particle -kan and the context indicates that we are dealing here with *parū dā-* "to take away from, to take out of" and not with bivalent *parū dā-* "to take, to pick out, to select".

4.2.7 *appa dā-*

The combination *appa dā-* is found with an expression of Direction, meaning "to take back to":

- (304-NS) ("They slaughter ten sheep, take the meat and put it in front of the god.") UDU.HI.A = ma hūnandūš INA E GAL⁷⁴ EGIR-pa danzi "They take all the sheep back to the palace, (but one sheep they leave in the temple.)"
KBo X 20 II 34-37 (CTH 604.A) ed. Götterbock (1960: 82, 86)

In this use *appa dā-* is comparable in construction and meaning with combinations like *appa peda-* "to take back to" and *appa pehute-* "to lead back to".⁷⁵ See also the construction of *anila dā-* with expression of Direction treated in § 4.2.1.⁷⁶ No sentence particle is used with *appa dā-*. In the following example the particle -za, in its function as dative of the reflexive pronoun, seems to function as expression of Direction indicating that the Object is taken back to the Subject of *appa dā-* "to take back (to oneself)".⁷⁷

- (305-OH) ("Whoever transacts business with a *hipparu*-man, must withdraw from the bargain.")⁷⁸ *hipparuš kult hupparait tu = z appa dā[i]* "What the *hipparu*-man traded, he shall take back."
KBo VI 2+ II 51-52 (HG I § 48, CTH 291.IA) ed. Friedrich (1959: 32-33), transl. Höffner (1963: 49) and (1995: 224)

When *appa dā-* is accompanied by an Object constituent only, it can be interpreted as an instance of absolute use of *appa dā-*, "to take back to", where the Direction – either a person or a place – is not mentioned, or *appa* can be an Adjunct of Time with the meaning "again", which is juxtaposed to bivalent *dā-*, "to take". By lack of formal differences this choice is solely a matter of semantics and therewith not always easy to make!

- (306-MH+) *anda = mu mān hanan DI-sar kuiški EOIR-pa dāi* "Furthermore, if someone takes up again an adjudicated case (one will clear up this matter in a correct way.)"
KUB XL 62 + KUB XIII 9 III 19-20 (CTH 258.I)

⁷³ See Beekman (1983: 124, 128).

⁷⁴ The combination *appa pehute-* is treated in § 5.3, p. 151.

⁷⁵ According to Ciastello (1978-179: 231-239), however, "wird *appa* (EGIR-pa) neben *dā-* mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit als Adv. ('zurück/wieder') empfunden"

⁷⁶ Compare the combination -za *erha dā-* "to take away from oneself", where the particle -za takes the position of a dative of the Indirect Object (§ 4.2.2).

⁷⁷ See also Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 317).

Chapter 4

In the above translation 306-MH+, *EGR-pa* is rendered as an Adjunct of Time indicating that the action denoted by the predicate takes place once more. The Object *haranai* *di-sar* "an adjudicated case" seems to favour this interpretation. On the other hand, the translation of *hanešar dā-* as "to take up a case", which is unparalleled with *dā-* or *sarā dā-*, does not rule out the possibility that an expression of Direction is to be supplied from the context: "to take (up) a case (to court)". So, an interpretation of *appa dā-* as a unity, "to take back to court" is equally possible.⁷⁸

4.2.8 *ayān arha dū-*

The combination *ayān arha dū-* "to take away from" is attested with Origin expression and -*atā* or -*kan*:

- (307-OH+) ("The three times eight soldier breads which they arrange,") *n̄ s ušta⁷⁹ apic istu NINDA ERIN MEŠ⁸⁰ NINDA ERIN MEŠ ayān arha dāngi* "from those soldier breads they take away a soldier bread."
KUB XXXII 123+ III 31-32 (CTH 772.3A) transl. Starke (1985: 310)⁸¹

We also have an example with an expression of Origin in the dative instead of the ablative case, but without sentence particle:⁸²

- (308-MH) ("The plaster that is crumbling down.") *n̄ s at kuttal̄ ayān arha daškandu* "that they must (regularly) take off from the walls, (so that they show the (bare) stones.)"
KUB XXXI 87 II 18-20 + KUB XXXI 88 II 4-6 (CTH 261.1A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 45)

For lack of other evidence we do not know whether the absence of a sentence particle in (308-MH+) is an exception. The survey by Zuntz (1936: 44-45) shows that the combination *ayān arha* is more often found without a sentence particle, in spite of the fact that it expresses separation.⁸³ This is in contrast with *arha*, which is always accompanied by a particle when expressing separation.

⁷⁸ The local adverb *anda* in the combination *anda e mu* marks the transition to a new paragraph "Furthermore, moreover" and is completely independent of the predicate; see § 1.1.1, p. 9-10.

⁷⁹ In the parallel manuscript KBo VIII 107+ III 14-15 (MS C in Starke's editions), the particle -*štu* is used instead; see Starke (1985: 310 n. 55).

⁸⁰ According to Starke (1985: 310, n. 54) the number before the second NINDA ERIN MEŠ has been erased.

⁸¹ For the possible Old Hittite origin of the *Istanmu*-festival and the date of its manuscripts see Starke (1985: 301-304).

⁸² Origin expressions in the dative case are highly exceptional; see § 4.1.3.

⁸³ The parallel manuscript D₂ KUB XXXI 86 3 has the variant *daškandu*.

⁸⁴ Boley (1989: 280-281) assumes that in (308-MH+) the particle is not present "because the PW (=local adverb) does not really have a separative / ablative meaning, but rather incidentally describes the verbal content."

The verb dā-

4.2.9 *kattan arha dā-*

The combination *kattan arha dā-* is construed with an expression of Origin:⁶³

- (309-NS) *INA UD.ILKAM mān lakkatta nu p[attar GIŠ.NĀ-az kattan] arha dāi*
 "When on the second day it dawns, she takes away the *pattur* from
 under the bed."
 KUB XXIV 9+ II 48'-49' (CTH 402.A) ed. Jakob-Rost (1972: 38-39)⁶⁴

and with an Indirect Object:

- (310-MH) *mu-šmaš šardus kattan-arha d[a]n-zi* "They remove the lairs from
 under them."
 KUB XXIX 52+ IV 6 (CTH 286.IV) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 196-197)

For the interpretation of *kattan arha dā-* as a unity with the meaning "to take away from under, to remove from under" and not as a case of juxtaposition of an independent local adverb *kattan* with *arha dā-* two arguments can be adduced. First of all no sentence particles are used with *kattan arha dā-*, which one would expect to be present when dealing with *arha dā-* (§ 4.2.2). Secondly the fact that *kattan arha* is written without word division in (310-MH) tells us that *kattan arha* is considered here as a semantic unity.⁶⁵

4.2.10 *peran arha dā-*

The evidence for *peran arha dā-* can be divided into two different uses,⁶⁶ in the first of which *peran arha dā-* is accompanied by a dative of the Indirect Object:

- (311-NS) ("The thick breads that the palace attendant has been breaking for
 Ziparya and for the gods and the thick breads that the old women
 have been breaking after the palace attendant.") *nu-ri ANA DINGIR.ME\$*
 peran arha danc[i] "these they remove from in front of the gods."
 KUB XX 8+ 3-8 (CTH 610)

⁶³ In her treatment of *kattan arha dā-*, "unten weg nehmen" Zuntz (1936: 48-9) cited (309-NS) and KUB XX 78 IV 7-9 LU GIŠ.BANŠUR I NINDA KUR, RA NINDA zippulatša^z kattan arha dāi (CTH 591.2C) "A table attendant takes away one 'thick bread' from under the *zippulatša*-bread", both with an Origin expression.

⁶⁴ With the duplicates KUB XXIV 10 II 6-7' (MS B), KUB XXIV 11 II 27'-28' (MS C) and KBa X 41: 6'-7' (MS E).

⁶⁵ Elsewhere in this horsetraining text (CTH 286) other combinations of local adverbs are written as one word. See Kammenhuber (1961: 170 n. 7, 187 n. 38, 197 n. 71) and (1974: 163) and the example of *peran arha* cited in § 4.2.10 n. 96. Of course this lack of word division is really exceptional and therefore it may not indicate more than that in those instances the two local adverbs are conceived of as a unity by the speaker or scribe. Note that in the fragmentary instance KUB LX 157 III 5-6 *nu-MUNUS.SU.GI* | *kai-ta-at-na ar-ha danc-i* the local adverb *kattan* is separated from *arha* by the conjunction *-a-ja*.

⁶⁶ This was already recognized by Zuntz (1936: 52, 54), who divided examples of *peran arha dā-* over two sections, namely "peran als ursprüngliche Postposition" and "peran als ursprüngliches Adverb".

⁶⁷ ■ EGIR.DUMU.É.GAL the local adverb EGIR is used here as an Adjunct of Time "after the palace attendant". Examples of this construction can be found in Kammenhuber (HW², A: 160).

Chapter 4

This construction of *peran arha dā-*, "to take away from in front" is comparable with that of *kattan arha dā-* (§ 4.2.9) and *ser arha dā-* (§ 4.2.11). With this use of *peran arha dā-*, as with *kattan arha dā-*, no sentence particles are found. ¹⁰ So, also in this case it is not likely that we are dealing with an incidental juxtaposition of *peran* to the combination *arha dā-*.¹¹ The other construction of *peran arha dā-* will be treated in § 4.4.4.

4.2.11 *ser arha dā-*

The combination *ser arha dā-* is constructed with an expression of Origin and an Indirect Object. In the following example, for instance, both constructions are found in partitive apposition:

- (312-NS) ("Two palace attendants and one body guard ent[er]. One palace attendant holds a billy-goat and one palace attendant holds a jar of wine. A palace attendant gives a spear to the prince.") DUMUL.E.GAL.¹² :kum ANA "Zittahari SAG.DU-a¹³ NINDA ERIN.MES išgaranta-ja ser arha dāi "From on top ¹⁴ the head of Zittaharija the palace attendant takes away the army loaves and the things that are stuck (on it)." ¹⁵
KUB XI 23 V 2-8 (CTH 618.4A)

In (313-NS) we have an instance of absolute use of *ser arha dā-*, where the expression of Origin must be supplied from the context:

- (313-NS) ("The king goes to the inner-room. In the inner-room a table is already standing. Thirteen 'thick *tuhurai*-breads' and one 'croissant' are lying on the table and they are covered with a cloth. The king goes and he prostrates himself. They put the table in front of the window") n=adta GAO-an ser arha dānzi "and they remove the cloth from on top (of the table/breads). (The chief of palace attendants takes the thick breads and then gives them to the king.)"
KUB II 13 I 12-22 (CTH 591.5A)

The combination *ser arha dā-* seems to express exactly the opposite notion of the unity *kattan arha dā-*, namely "to take away from ^{on} top, ^{to} remove from on top".¹⁶ Unlike *kattan arha dā-* (§ 4.2.9), examples of *ser arha dā-* are as a rule accompanied by *-nšta* or *-kut*.¹⁷

¹⁰ In § 4.2.9 we saw an example from a horse training text (310-MH) where *kattan arha* was written as one word. In another tablet of this text we might have an instance of *peran-arha dā-* without word division: n[u]z išma[u] z pišan-*arha dānzi* | "and they take it away from in front of them" KUB XXIX 45 I 7'-8' (CTH 286.1, MH), ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 170-171).

¹¹ The translation by Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 457-458) "A page gives a spear to the prince, and the page removes the army loaves which are stuck on the [spear]head [as an offering] to Z." is problematic. Apart from the function of the dative ANA "Zittahari, the Object consists of both NINDA ERIN.MES and (-ja) išgaranta, and SAG.DU-a; clearly refers to the head of the statue of Zittaharija.

¹² See already Zuntz's (1936: 56-57) translation "oben wegnehmen".

¹³ The only exception is in the following sentence from the oracle text KUB V 6+ I 34-35 (CTH 570): ANA DINGIR¹⁸ SA "Mizzilla iwar kartinamoddaf ser arha dānzi" "From on top of the god they take away the (reasons for his) anger in the manner of the woman Mizzilla", an example of *ser arha dā-* with an Indirect Object.

4.2.12 *āppa ūrā dā-*

The combination *āppa ūrā dā-* is attested with an Object and the particle *-kan* in the following example:

- (314-lateNH) ("If someone has established himself in His Majesty's favor.") *tuk-ma =kan ūrā UTU =³¹ LU KUR-a³ EGIR-pa UG[U] dāi* "but an enemy of His majesty *solicits* you (saying) (: 'Make that person fall out of His majesty's favor'.)"

KUB XXVI 1+ III 37-40 (CTH 255.2A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 13-14); see CHD (L-N: 20)⁹⁴

In the above example the combination *āppa ūrā dā-* has a figurative notion that is not otherwise found with *ūrā dā-* and an Object (§ 4.2.4). By lack of comparable examples we do not know what exactly is intended by this expression. In the CHD (L-N: 20) the translation "to solicit" was suggested, which seems to fit well into the context. This special notion and the use of the particle *-kan* may indicate that we are not dealing with an incidental combination of *āppa* and *ūrā dā-* and an Object, but that *āppa* and *ūrā* form a unity with *dā-* with its own meaning and habits in usage of sentence particles.

4.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate

In the examples treated in this section there are no indications that the local adverb in question influences the construction or the meaning of the predicate *dā-*. When it is omitted the sentence remains syntactically and semantically correct. With independent local adverbs we find the same patterns in the use of sentence particles as with the basic predicate *dā-*, namely no particles with bivalent *dā-* and *-kum* or *-ašta* with trivalent *dā-*.

4.3.1 *kattan + dā-*

- (315-OH+) ("If someone diverts a canal, he shall give one shekel of silver") *takku PA₃-an EGIR-izziat kuiški ūrā [n]āi* (MS f: *šer dāi*) *ta larputta takku kattann³² ūrā dāi n=aš apēl* (MS f: *apēl=pat*) "If someone (else) afterwards (or: stealthily) diverts the canal upwards (MS f: takes a canal above). ... But if he takes fit) below, it is his."
- KBo VI 26 I 18-21 (HG II § 47, CTH 292.Ila.B. MS j) with duplicate KBo VI 15 IV' 8-8 (MS f) ed. Friedrich (1959: 74-75)

The above translation of this difficult passage from the Hittite Laws largely follows Melchert (1979: 59-62).⁹⁵ MS f presents us with an instance of *šer dāi*, a reading that expresses the exact opposite of *kattann ūrā dāi*. Both *šer* and *kattan* are used here as

⁹⁴ Here the translation of the CHD (L-N: 20) has been followed in preference to von Schuler's translation (1957: 13) "dich aber nimmt eind Feind der Siege heimlich auf"

⁹⁵ See also the treatment in the CHD (L-N: 351-352) with references, Hoffner (1995a: 233) and von Schuler (TUAT 1.1: 117).

independent Adjuncts, indicating the Location where the water from the canal is taken, that is respectively "above" and "below" the point where the owner of the irrigation canal takes his water.

4.3.2 *peran + šarā dā-*

In the following example *peran* is attested with *šarā dā-*, "to take along" (§ 4.2.4):

- (316-NS) ("and [. . . against] the city **š** Appa ([I waged war.])") | (G)U₁.H.L.A
UDU.HI A **š**a ¹⁸⁰Takſ[a]nna =ia peran šarā dahlun "Earlier, I also
took along the cattle (and) sheep of the city of Takšanna. (Then I went
to the city of Parmanba.)"
KBo X 21.53-II.2 (CTH 4) ed. Imparati (1965: 46–47), transl. Kümmel (TUAT
1.5: 461)

In this damaged and largely restored passage from the Annals of king Hattušili I, we seem to be dealing with an instance of *šarā dā-* and an Object meaning "to take along", like (286-NH) in § 4.2.4. The local adverb *peran* is likely to be independent of this unity *šarā dā-*. In the translation I followed Kümmel (TUAT 1.5: 461) and interpreted *peran* as an Adjunct of Time: "before, earlier". Another possible translation of *peran* would be "openly, for all to see".

4.3.3 *šer + dā-*

See example (315-OH+) treated in § 4.3.1.

4.3.4 *appa + arha dā-*

In the following example the local adverb *appa* is juxtaposed to *arha dā-*:

- (317-NH) ("Since I, My Majesty, gave silver, cattle (and) sheep of My majesty
to Istar of the Field, thus (says) Hepapija: ANA "ISTAR U.L. =yar =aš =kan
EGIR-pa arha dama" "They will take these away again from Istar of the
Field (and give them to the 'great god'.)"
KUB XV 5 III 17–21 (CTH 583) ed. de Roos (1984: 207, 346)

In (317-NH) we are informed that goods, which were given to the goddess Istar of the Field, are taken away from her and given to another god. In this context the most likely function of *appa* is that of an independent Adjunct of Time meaning "again".⁹⁶

⁹⁶ The restorations are based on the Hittite duplicate KUB XXIII 33: 5–7 and on the Akkadian version (KBo X 1); see the translation by Kümmel (TUAT 1.5: 461).

⁹⁷ This example is cited by Zuntz with the translation "turnick (und dadurch) weg nehmen", apparently taking it as a combination of *appa dā-* "to take back" and *arha dā-* "to take away". Although this might be right and this could be a case of absolute use of *appa dā-* "to take back", one would expect the presence of -za to note that the object is taken back to the Subject of the predicate; see (305-OH) in § 4.2.7. A comparable example of *appa* with -za *arha dā-* can be found in KBo II 11 rev. 5 "ma za ap̄i KUR.KUR.MES EGIR arha dā-a[-at]" "and again [be'] took possession of those lands." (CTH 209.12, NH), ill. Hagenbuchner (1989: 393).

The verb dā-

For the use of *appa* as Adjunct of Time, "again", see also § 4.2.7.

4.3.5 *appan + dā-* and *jarā dā-*

There are only a few examples *appan* used in combination with *dā-*. In § 4.4.3 the somewhat problematic use of *kuikka appan dā-* will be discussed, in which *appan* either is an Adjunct of Location or forms a unity with *dā-*. In the following example the local adverb *appan* seems to be used independently of *dā-*:

- (318-NH) ("'What is this? I took an oath before'"') E[GI]R-z-i = man = ju = za dahlji kuitki "Would I afterwards take possession of something?" ("I am bound *in* this matter by oath.") nu = ja = z-i EGIR-an vi. kuitk[i] dahlji "I won't afterwards take possession of something".
KUB XIII 35+1 29-32 (CTH 293) W. Werner (1967: 4-5)

The above example is found in the statement of a person named Ukkura, who is accused of fraud and conversion of goods belonging to the king. With the restriction that the exact purport of the statements in (318-NH) is not altogether clear, it is possible that *appan dā-* resumes the earlier *appetti dā-* and that both are functioning as Adjuncts of Time, meaning "afterwards, later".⁹⁷

A different meaning of *appan* seems to be present in the following examples, where it is juxtaposed to *jarā dā-*:

- (319-NH) ("See, in my land are three noblemen; you Targušnalli, Mašviliuga and (Manapa-Tarhunta) (...)") nu = aš kan 1-aš 1-edani kunanna EGIR-an jarā lē dār "Neither shall undertake to kill them (=the free men) behind the back *in* the other."
KBo V 4 rev. 2-3, 13 (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 60-63)⁹⁸

Earlier in this treaty we find the following expression:

- (320-NH) ("Neither shall become evil towards the other") nu 1-aš 1-an kunanna lē sunhal[z]i "and neither shall seek to kill the other."
KBo V 4 rev. 5 (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 60-61)

Given the similarity in construction it is likely that the predicate *jarā dā-* in (319-NH), like *sunhal-* in (320-NH), governs the Object constituent *-aš kunanna* "to kill them". The function of the local adverb *EGIR-an* is that of an independent Adjunct in its turn governing the dative *1-edani*. From its function as Adjunct *in* Location meaning "behind", this metaphorical use of *EGIR-an*, "behind the back of someone else, secretly".

⁹⁷ Another solution would be to translate *appan* as "secretly, behind (someone's back)", like for instance in (319-NH) below.

⁹⁸ Following a suggestion by van den Hout the pronoun *-aš* has been interpreted as the Object of *kunanna*, rather than as the Subject of *sunhal dā-*, which would be an exception to the Watkins-Garrett rule; see Garrett (1990).

Chapter 4

developed.¹⁰⁰ In the treatment of *šarā dā-* in § 4.2.4 we saw no examples with the notion "to undertake". The presence of *-kan* is also remarkable.¹⁰¹ The only other example of *šarā dā-* with this meaning also occurs in a sentence with a second local adverb, namely (321-NH) in § 4.3.6, but this time no sentence particle is found.

4.3.6 *menahyanlu + šarā dā-*

The combination of *menahyanlu* and *šarā dā-* occurs in the following passage from the Huqqana treaty of Šuppiluluma I:

- (321-NH) *našma = nu = za mān L^U C^R Hatti [nam]ma kuški idālu menahyanlu šarā dāi* "Or further, if some Hittite man undertakes evil against me, (whatever man it (may be), if you do not indicate him to me the very moment you hear of him, ...) then these oaths may destroy [you, Huqqana]."
KBo V 3+ II 32–35, 43 (CTH 401A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 116–119)

The only example of *šarā dā-* with a comparable meaning is example (319-NH) in § 4.3.5, where *šarā dā-*, "to undertake" governs the Object constituent *kunamna*. It is possible that in (321-NH) we have a similar construction of the predicate *šarā dā-* and the Object *idālu*. The dative *-nu* is governed by the local adverb *menahyanlu*, "against, towards", which seems to be independent of the predicate, like *uppan* in (319-NH). Note that in (321-NH) no sentence particle is used. The particle *-za* is added to the predicate to indicate that the action benefits the Subject; "to undertake (for oneself)": see § 4.1.2.2.

4.4 Problematic or unclear instances

4.4.1 *andu + dā-*

The following Old Hittite example is cited by Starke (1977: 145) as an instance of *andu* and the verb *dā-* "to take":¹⁰²

- (322-OH) 'If someone hires an ox' *nu = kic = an K^US lušan našma K^US turušha andu dāi* "and adds to him a *luša* or *turušha* (and his owner finds him, he gives one *parisu* of grain.)"
KBo VI 2+ IV 10–11 (HG I § 78, CTH 291.1A), ed. Friedrich (1959: 42–43)

So far this instance has been interpreted as a case of *andu dāi* "to place onto", see e.g. Friedrich (1959: 43) and Hoffner (1995a: 227). Starke (1977: 145–146) translated this example as "und (von) ihm dann *K^US lušan* or *K^US turušha* hinein- (bzw.: dazu-) nimmt".

¹⁰⁰ Compare the analysis and translation of this example by Friedrich (1926: 63 + n. 3).

¹⁰¹ It cannot easily be explained as required by *Akkadian*, since in (120-NH) *-kan* is missing with *kunamna*. For the use of sentence particles with *šarā dā-* see Hoffner (1992a).

¹⁰² Another possible Old Hittite example at KBo XX 16 obv. 3–4. It is, however, not certain whether *andu* of obv. 3 belongs to the restored verb form *djanzi* in obv. 4. See Neu (1980a: 43) and Ciampelli (1978–79: 230).

The verb dā-

Following Starke's explanation of this construction, this would be a case of trivalent *dā-*, with -*šši* indicating the losing party (§ 4.1.3), to which *anda* is added to indicate the Direction; "to take away from him into (his house)". For this use of trivalent *dā-* with an additional expression of Direction, there are however no parallels. In the above translation, the use of *anda dā-* is similar to that of -*zu anda dā-* in (272-NH). In Starke's interpretation the *husa* or *tarušha* are stolen from the hired ox, while in the other two solutions the *husa* or *tarušha* are added to the ox. Since the nature of these items is still unknown, it is hard to tell which of the situations is more likely to harm the owner of the ox. If *du-a-i* would belong to *dai-* "to place", this would be the only Old Hittite example of *dai-* (or the iterative *zikk-*) occurring with a local adverb ending in -*a*.¹⁰¹

4.4.2 *peran (+) dā-*

In the song of Ultikummi we repeatedly encounter the following expression:

- (323-NS) ("I will sing of Kumarbi, the father of all the gods.")¹⁰² *Kumarbiš-za
hat<ta>tar zi-ni pīan* (var. B: *kattan*) *d[taškizz]* "Kumarbi takes wisdom in front of (var. B: down in) his mind." (...) ¹⁰³ *Kumarbiš-za Zi-
ni pīan* (var. B: *kattan*) *ha[taštar] duškizz* "Kumarbi takes wisdom in front of (var. B: down in) his mind (and he sticks it on like a bead.)"
KUB XXXIII 96+ 13-5, 9-10 (CTH 345.1A) ed. Güterbock (1951: 146-147)¹⁰⁴

Judging from the fact that MS B uses *kattan* instead of *peran*, the same notion is apparently expressed by -*zu hattatur ištanžani peran dā-* and -*zu hattatur ištanžani kattan dā-*. Since Güterbock (1951: 147) *ištanžani peran* (or: *kattan*) *dā-* is generally taken to mean "to take into one's mind". In this interpretation *ištanžani* denotes the Direction of *hattatur dā-*. Knowing that the basic predicate *dā-* and -*za dā-* are not attested with an expression of Direction, this construction could then be regarded as belonging to the derived predicates *peran dā-* and *kattan dā-* both meaning "to take into". In the more literal translation above, however, the solution has been suggested to take *ištanžani peran* and *ištanžani kattan* as Adjuncts marking the Location of *hattatur*, "to take wisdom in front of his mind (or: down in his mind)."

4.4.3 *haššan peran (+) dā-, haššan āppan (+) dā-, haššan āppun (+) arha dā-*

In festival texts one regularly finds the expression *haššan peran dā + -kan*:

- (324-NS) ("The chief of bodyguards goes and places the silver *zau* next to the king. He walks in front of the priest. The priests rise.") GUNNI-an-*kan peran danzi* "They take the hearth in front. (Then they go out.)"
KUB II 31 41-46 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 63)

¹⁰¹ In that case (322-OH) would be an exception to Starke's, generally valid, rule that in Old Hittite locative adverbs in -*a* only occur with "direktivischen Verben" (1977: 201-202), see § 5.2.

¹⁰² With duplicate KUB XXXIII 98+ 14-6, 9-10 (MS B). See also the discussion of this passage by Beckman (1986: 27-28) and his description of *hattatur* as "capacity to generate a plot".

Chapter 4

There even is an example in a fragmentary ritual texts in an Old Hittite original:

- (325-OH) *Ja haššan peran da-a[-i]* "[he] takes [the hearth in front]"
 KBo XXV 147 rev 10, translit. Neu (1980a: 233)

In (326-NS) we possibly have an example of *peran haššan dā-* and the opposite expression *āppan haššan dā-*:

- (326-NS) ("The king and queen are standing. The chief bodyguards holds a gold *zuhā* and carries it inside.") *[h]aššan -kan peran dāi* "He takes the hearth in front." ("[The herald holds a *hali-bread*.") *[ta-kkai]* *haššan EGIR-an dāi* "[and] takes the hearth in back."
 KUB XX 13-8 (CTH 592.tB) ed. Gonnet (1975-78: 127, 139)¹⁰⁵

The particle *-kan* may need to be restored with *haššan āppan dā-*, but for lack of other instances this cannot be verified. The local adverb *āppan* is, however, attested several times in the comparable expression *haššan āppan arha dā-* with *ašta*:

- (327-NS) ("The chief guards and the chief of palace attendants come back.")
n = ašta GM. M EŠŠU IN haššan EGIR-an arha dāi "The chief of guards takes away the hearth in back (and steps over the *saramumur*-breads of the chief of guards. The chief table attendants goes outside.)"
 KBo IV 9 IV 45-50 (CTH 604.1A+ ed. Badalı and Zinko (1994: 42-43)¹⁰⁶

The function of *peran* and *āppan* in these expressions is hard to define with any certainty. Comparison with the expression *haššan āppan arha dā-* might indicate that also in the expressions *-kan haššan peran dā-* and *-kan' haššan āppan dā-* the predicate *dā-* is to be translated as "to take away", with anaphoric use of the particle *-kan*.¹⁰⁷ In all three expressions, then, the function of *peran* and *āppan* could be that of an Adjunct marking the Location of the hearth. This solution was followed in the above translations. One can also follow Zuntz (1936: 96) and take *peran dā* + *-kan* as a unity meaning something like "to take from the front" (and similarly *āppan dā*, "to take from the back").¹⁰⁸ In that case there is no need to interpret the local adverb *āppan* in *āppan arha dā-* as an Adjunct of Location. Then, it can then be translated with Zuntz (1936: 44) as "behind (someone's back), secretly" and one can even take *āppan arha dā* + *-ašta* as a unity with the meaning "take away from behind".

4.4.4 *anahī peran (+) arha dā-*

The expression *anahī peran arha dā-* is regularly attested:

- (328-NS) ("He breaks the *harašpauwant*-breads and the *alatari*-bread") *n = ašta anahī peran arha dāi išTU*¹⁰⁹ *DILIM = ja GAL*¹¹⁰ *šampidki anahī dāi*

¹⁰⁵ Gonnet translates *da-a-i* as a form of *dai* "to place".

¹⁰⁶ Badalı and Zinko (1994: 43) translate "Der Aufführer der Leibgardisten nimmt den Herd wieder weg".

¹⁰⁷ In this use of *-kan* the third argument of *dā-* "to take away" is omitted; see § 4.1.6 with examples.

¹⁰⁸ Zuntz translated *peran dā-* as "vorne wegnehmen".

The verb dā-

"From (these) he takes away a test sample in advance and out of a big bowl of *sampukki* 'soup' he takes a test sample (and throws it into the fire.)"

KBo V I III 17-20 (CTH 476) ed. Soemmer and Echhoff (1924: 10¹-11²)

The meaning of *peran arha dā-* in this expression is clearly different from that of the derived predicate *peran arha dā-* "to take away from in front" discussed in § 4.2.11.¹⁰⁰ There is also a variance in construction and usage of sentence particles. In contrast with the combination *peran arha dā-* that is always construed with a dative of the Indirect Object and never has a sentence particle, no Origin expression or Indirect object is found with *anahī peran arha dā-*, but it always has the particle *-asta*. In (328-NS) the construction *anahī peran arha dā-* alternates with *anahī dā-* + Origin expression "to take a test sample out of".¹⁰¹ Probably *peran* is independent of the derived predicate *arha dā-* "to take away from", which is always accompanied by *-asta* or *-kan*. In all instances *anahī arha dā-* is used with reference to breads, but the Origin expression "from the breads" is never explicitly mentioned. The meaning and semantic function of *peran* is even less clear. Maybe it is used as an Adjunct of Time meaning "in advance".

4.5 Summary

We saw that the basic predicate *dā-* is attested with three different predicate frames, two of which are in complementary distribution, namely 4.2 and 4.3. The presence of sentence particles with a predicate frame is marked with the abbreviation sent. part:¹⁰²

(4.1) <i>dā-</i> , "to take (and use)"	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	
	Agent	Patient	
(4.3) <i>dā-</i> , "to take from"	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT + INDIRECT OBJECT + sent. part.	
	Agent	Patient	Loser animate
(4.4) <i>dā-</i> , "to take from, to take out of"	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	+ COMPLEMENT
	Agent	Patient	Origin inanimate

In those cases where the particle *-za* forms a unity with *dā-*, it can express several different notions, all of which have a predicate frame with the following structure:

(4.2) <i>-za dā-</i>	+ SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	
	Agent	Patient	

¹⁰⁰ This was already recognized by Zuntz (1936: 52, 54).

¹⁰¹ These are the two constructions attested with *anahī* and *dā-*; see also HW² (A: 72-73). As expected of *dā-* with an Origin expression, there are instances of *anahī dā-* with and without a sentence particle; see § 4.1.6.

¹⁰² An explanation of the presentation of the predicate frames can be found in § 1.2, p. 18.

Chapter 4

Although the unity *-za dā-* can itself be described as a derived predicate formed by adding the particle *-za* to the predicate *dā-*, it serves in its turn as the basis for the formation of the derived predicate *-za anda dā-* "to (take and) add to". The particle *-za* is also attested with *arha dā-* and *äppa dā-* in its function as dative of the reflexive pronoun "for oneself", where it identifies the Subject as the person from whom something is taken away, respectively as the person to whom something is taken back.

In most cases where a local adverb is added to *dā-*, the result is a new predicate with a meaning that is different from that of the basic predicate, but with the same construction(s) of the basic predicate *dā-*. Only the combinations *anda dā-*, *za anda dā-*, *äppa dā-* and *-za arha dā-* show an entirely new construction. With the combinations *arha dā-*, *šaru dā-* and *parū dā-* the use of the sentence particles *-ästa* and *-kan* coincides with that of the basic predicate, with the restriction that in the construction with an expression of Origin the presence of *-ästa* or *-kan* now is obligatory. The usage of a sentence particle with *anda dā-*, *-za anda dā-*, *-za arha dā-katta dā-*, *-za šarū dā-*, *-za ūer dā-* and *äppa šaru dā-*, however, is clearly an innovation of the derived predicate.

Independent local adverbs that do not affect the meaning, construction or habits in the usage of sentence particles of the predicate are found with bivalent *dā-* (e.g. *kattan*, *šer*) or *-za dā-* (*äppan*), but can also be juxtaposed to combinations of *dā-* with other local adverbs (e.g. *peran + šaru dā-*).¹¹²

The following derived predicates are based on *dā-*:

(4.5)	<i>-za anda dā-</i>	"to (take and) add to"	
		SUBJECT + OBJECT	+ COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
		Agent Patient	Direction inanimate
(4.6)	<i>anda dā-</i>	"to take into"	
		SUBJECT + OBJECT	+ COMPL. + sent. part.
		Agent Patient	Direction inanimate + animate ¹¹³
(4.7)	<i>arha dā-</i>	"to take away from"	
		SUBJECT + OBJECT	+ INB. OBJ. / COMPL. + sent. part.
		Agent Patient	Loser / Origin animate / inanimate
(4.8)	<i>-za arha dā-</i>	"to take off one's clothes"	
		SUBJECT + OBJECT	+ CUMPL. + sentence particle
		Agent Patient	Origin inanimate

¹¹² The distribution of dependent and independent use of local adverbs with *dā-* is indicated in table 5.1 in § 5.1.

The verb dā-

- (4.9) *kutta dā-* "to take down, to tear down, to destroy"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + sentence particle
 Agent Patient
- (4.10) *katta dā-* "to take down from"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Patient Origin
 inanimate
- (4.11) *karā dā-* "to take up"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT
 Agent Patient
- (4.12) *-za karī dā-* "to take up for oneself, to scoop (up)"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + sentence particle
 Agent Patient
- (4.13) *karā dā-* "to take up from, to take along from, to lift up out of"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + IND. OBJ. / COMPL. + sent. part.
 Agent Patient Loser/ Origin
 animate / inanimate
- (4.14) *-za ker dā-* "to take up for oneself, to scoop (up)"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + sentence particle
 Agent Patient
- (4.15) *parā dā-* "To take, to pick out, to select"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT
 Agent Patient
- (4.16) *parā dā-* "to take away from, to take out of"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + IND. OBJ. / COMPL. + sent. part.
 Agent Patient Loser / Origin
 animate / inanimate
- (4.17) *appa dā-* "to take back to"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + COMPLEMENT
 Agent Patient Direction
 animate+inanimate
- (4.18) *ayān arha dā-* "to take away from"
 SUBJECT + OBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Patient Origin
 inanimate

Chapter 4

(4.19) *kattan arþa dū-*

"to take away from under, to remove from under"

SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	→ IND. OBL. / COMPL.
Agent	Patient	Loser / Origin animate / inanimate

(4.20) *þer arþa dū-*

"to take away from on top, to remove from on top"

SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	→ INTR. OBL. / COMPL. + sent. part.
Agent	Patient	Loser / Origin animate / inanimate

(4.21) *þerun arþa dū-*

"to take away from in front"

SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	→ INDIRECT OBJECT
Agent	Patient	Loser animate

(4.22) *dppn xord dd-*

"to solicit"

SUBJECT	+ OBJECT + sentence particle
Agent	Patient

CHAPTER 5

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

5.0 Introduction

The results that can be gained from a comparison of the observations about the interaction between local adverb, sentence particle and predicate with the sample verbs of ch. 2-4 are presented in § 5.1; the situation in Old Hittite is treated separately in § 5.2. In § 5.3 the main results of § 5.1 are completed by studying sentences with local adverbs in a sample of Middle and New Hittite texts. The position of local adverbs in the sentence is discussed in § 5.4. The problem of the function of local adverbs in Hittite will be compared with that of the "particles" in Greek grammar in § 5.5.

5.1 Local adverbs with the sample verbs of ch. 2-4

In this paragraph we will concentrate on the evidence from contemporary manuscripts of Middle, New and late-New Hittite texts, where necessary completed with information from other examples.¹ The situation in Old Hittite texts will be discussed in § 5.2. While studying the data of the sample verbs no difference could be detected in the function of local adverbs or in their influence on the use of sentence particles between Middle Hittite, New Hittite and late-New Hittite texts.²

In the description of the verbs a distinction has been made between local adverbs that are dependent and independent of the predicate. Dependent local adverbs influence the meaning or the construction of the predicate and form a unity with it. Independent local adverbs have no direct relation with the predicate and can be omitted, leaving the predicate in the same sense and the remainder of the sentence grammatically complete.

In the following table the occurrence of the various local adverbs with the verbs of 2-4 is indicated, divided in dependent or independent use with the predicate:

The following symbols are used in this table:

× = Local adverb is attested with the predicate

? = The function of the local adverb with the predicate is uncertain

¹ That is from later copies of older or undated compositions: see the list of categories of Hittite texts in § 1.5.

² This impression is confirmed by the test of Middle and New Hittite texts in § 5.3.

Chapter 5

local adverb	dependent use				independent use			
	<i>ua-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uya-</i>	<i>dā-</i>	<i>iia-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uya-</i>	<i>dā-</i>
<i>onda</i>	x	x	x	x		x		
<i>andam</i>	?	x	x					
<i>arha</i>	x	x	x	x	x			
<i>arahza¹</i>		?	?					
<i>kutta</i>	x	x	x	x				
<i>kuttan</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
<i>kattanda</i>	x	x	x					
<i>śarā</i>	x	x	x	x				
<i>śer</i>				x	x			x
<i>parā</i>	x	x	x	x				
<i>perən</i>		?	?		x	?		x
<i>āppa</i>	x	x	x	x	x	?	?	x
<i>āppan</i>	x	x	x		x	?	?	x
<i>āpponda</i>		x	x		x		?	
<i>andurza</i>					x			
<i>īstarna</i>	x	x				x	?	
<i>menahlijanda</i>		x						x
<i>parranda</i>		x						
<i>partian</i>	?	x						
<i>tupila²</i>		?	?		x			
<i>ayun arha</i>	x	x	x					
<i>kuttan arha</i>	x	x	x					
<i>perən arha</i>	x	x	x					
<i>appan arha</i>		x						
<i>īstarna arha</i>	x	x	x					
<i>śer arha</i>	x	x	x	x				
<i>perən parā</i>						x		
<i>uppa śarā</i>					x			

(Table 5.1 Distribution of local adverbs over the sample verbs of ch. 2-4.)

What first strikes the eye is the large amount of local adverbs that occur with these verbs. From a total of 22 local adverbs (see the list in § 1.0) 15 can form a unity with *pai-* and 14 with *uya-*, which number respectively may amount to 18 and 17, if the uncertain combinations are included in the calculation. With 12–14 possible combinations, the predicate *iia-*, which is far less frequently used than the other predicates and therefore probably attested with a smaller number of local adverbs, also shows a great capability

¹ As mentioned in § 3.4.1, *arahza* may have the function of a (dependent) expression of Direction or Origin with *pai-* and *uya-*.

² This *tupila*, at least in some instances, still functions as a noun in the allative with *pai-* and *uya-*; see § 3.4.6.

to combine with local adverbs. In comparison with the predicates of motion the amount of dependent local adverbs that can be combined with *dā-* is less high, but also quite impressive.

This table also shows that cases of dependent use of local adverbs are much more frequent than instances of independent use.⁵ Many local adverbs are exclusively found in dependent use and a few only appear as independent Adjuncts, while there are also local adverbs that can be used both dependently and independently of the predicate.

Before continuing these observations, it is useful to recall Starke's division of local adverbs in Old Hittite into two corresponding groups, group I consisting of local adverbs ending in *-a*, which are always dependent on the predicate and group II of local adverbs formed with the same stem, but ending in *-n*, which are always independent of the predicate; see table 1.2, repeated below, and the description of Starke's theory in § 1.1.1.⁶

Group I:	Group II:
<i>andu</i>	<i>andan</i>
<i>ūppa</i>	<i>ūppan</i>
<i>kana</i>	<i>kantan</i>
<i>parā</i>	<i>peran</i>
<i>šard</i>	<i>ter</i>

(Table 1.2. Two groups of corresponding local adverbs, by Starke (1927: 133).)

When we turn back to table 5.1, it is interesting to see that local adverbs ending in *-n* (group II) are more often attested with a function independent of *ia-*, *pai-*, *uya-* and *dā-* than local adverbs ending in *-a* (group II). The reverse, however, is also possible, though less frequent: local adverbs in *-a* can be dependent and those ending in *-n* independent of these predicates. This indicates that the original distinction in function between the two sets of local adverbs described in § 5.2 is disappearing in Middle and New Hittite, but still clearly visible.

If we compare the predicate frames of the motion verbs *ia-*, *pai-* and *uya-* in their use with dependent local adverbs, a clear relationship becomes visible between the presence of a particular local adverb, the type of predicate frame governed by the predicate and the occurrence of sentence particles. Predicate frames attested with *ia-* also occur with *pai-* or *uya-*.⁷ Table 5.2 below indicates the types of predicate frames that are attested with the predicates *ia-*, *pai-* and *uya-* in their use with dependent local adverbs, and the presence of sentence particles with the predicate frame.⁸ In the case of *arya* and *parā*, where the local adverb has a different meaning in some of the predicate frames, the translation has been added. In the description of the predicate frames in the third column, the arguments are mentioned that occur beside the Subject constituent. The presence of sentence particles is marked with the abbreviation *sent. part.*

⁵ Horrocks (1981) gained a similar result in his study about the "particles" in Homeric Greek; see § 5.5.

⁶ In § 5.2 it will be argued that Starke's division is too strict, since local adverbs in *-a* can be dependent on predicates requiring the completion of an expression of Location.

⁷ But see n. 17 on *ūppan* (frame 16) in table 5.2 below.

⁸ The few predicate frames that are only found with *pai-* or *uya-* are omitted from this table with the exception of frame 5, which is added to show the difference in particle use with frame 6.

Chapter 5

nr	local adverb	predicate frame and use of sentence particles	sample verbs with which the frame occurs
1	<i>eenda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction animate+inanimate	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> ⁹
2	<i>andan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
3	<i>orha</i> "away"	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin animate+inanimate	<i>iia-</i> ¹⁰ , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
4	<i>orha</i> "home"	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
5	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i>
6	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate	<i>iia-</i> ¹¹ , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
7	<i>kuttan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
8	<i>kuttanda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction inanimate	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> ¹² , <i>uya-</i> ¹³
9	<i>sarā</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction inanimate	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
10	<i>śarā</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate	<i>iia-</i> ¹⁴ , <i>uya-</i>
11	<i>parā</i> "on, forward"	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate	<i>iia-</i> ¹⁵ , <i>pai-</i>

⁹ With *uya-* the Direction is always an inanimate noun.

¹⁰ Only found with inanimate nouns

¹¹ Only attested in absolute use.

¹² With *pai-* possibly also with animate expressions of Direction.

¹³ Only in absolute use.

¹⁴ Only instances of absolute use.

¹⁵ Only in combination with an inanimate noun.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

12	<i>parā</i> "out"	COMPLEMENT + semi. part. Direction inanimate ¹⁶	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> ,
13	<i>parū</i> "out"	COMPLEMENT + semi. part. Origin inanimate	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
14	<i>appa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
15	<i>appa</i>	COMPLEMENT Origin inanimate	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
16	<i>appan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate	(<i>iia-</i> ¹⁷), <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
17	<i>appanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> ¹⁸
18	<i>ištarna</i>	+ sent. part.	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i>
19	<i>menahyanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
20	<i>parranda</i>	COMPLEMENT + COMPLEMENT Location Direction inanimate animate+ inanimate + sent. part.	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> ¹⁹
21	<i>parijan</i>	OBJECT + sent. part. Patient inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
22	<i>ayyan arħa</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin animate+inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
23	<i>kattan arħa</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Location inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>

¹⁶ This construction occurs with *iia-* only in absolute use.

¹⁷ The only instance of *appan iia-* "to go after" is constructed with an accusative, possibly with the syntactic function Object, and has *-kun*, while the corresponding constructions of *appa pai-* and *appan uya-* govern an expression of Direction in the dative case, without sentence particle; see § 2.2.9 and 3.2.10.

¹⁸ Only with animate expression of Direction.

¹⁹ Never with explicit expression of Location.

24	<i>peran arha</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Location animate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
25	<i>ištarna arha</i>	OBJECT' + sent. part. Patient inanimate	<i>iqa-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
26	<i>ser arha</i>	OBJECT' + sent. part. Patient inanimate	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i>

(Table 5.2. Relation between dependent local adverb, type of predicate frame and sentence particle with *iqa-*, *pai-* and *uya-*.)

This table shows that there is quite a difference in the effect local adverbs may have on the construction and the use of sentence particles with one and the same verb. With some local adverbs only one construction of the predicate is possible, either with or without accompanying sentence particle. See, for instance, *unda* (frame 1) or *kattan* (frame 7). Other local adverbs are found with more than one predicate frame. This is the case with *arha* (frame 3 or 4), *katta* (frame 3 and 6), *sarā* (frame 9 and 10), *parā* (frame 11, 12 and 13) and *appā* (frame 14 and 15). The local adverbs *unda*, *kattanda* and *sarā* are consistent in the presence of sentence particles, whereas *undan*, *kattan*, *appān*, *appanda* and *mendhanda* are not accompanied by such particles, regardless of the construction of the predicate. With the others the use of sentence particles is restricted to a particular construction of the predicate. These last cases are all the more interesting, since they show that there is no direct relation between the use of a local adverb with a verb and the occurrence of sentence particles, but a complex interaction between local adverb, verb and sentence particles, which can be described as follows: Dependent local adverbs form a unity with the predicate. Together they govern a predicate frame, which depending on its meaning and construction may or may not require the company of sentence particles.²⁰ In the descriptive chapters 2–4, the unity of dependent local adverb and verb was called a derived predicate, indicating that the local adverb and the verb form a new predicate, which is not contained in the Hittite lexicon as such, but is derived from the basic predicate by the addition of a local adverb. The unity of the local adverb and the verb is of a semantic, not of a syntactic nature, since the local adverb and the verb can be separated from each other without effect on the meaning.²¹ The traditional term preverb may therefore be a less appropriate description of the function of the local adverb in this connection. If one would need a separate designation, the best choice would probably be something like "converb".

In combination with a dependent local adverb, *iia-*, *pai-* and *uya-* are mostly con-

²⁰ The fact that sentence particles refer to the unity of local adverb and verb, and not to one of them in isolation is also indicated by the translation of Akkadian *šitru* and *nišitru*, both meaning "departure, going out", in two vocabulary texts as *parā = kattu pālitigar*: see § 3.2.8.

²¹ The local adverb can, for instance, be fronted: see § 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 ad sentence pattern 3a and 3b. The linguistic status of the unity of local adverb and verb will be further considered in relation with the situation in Homeric Greek, in § 5.5, p. 178.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

structed with an expression of Direction or Origin. Occasionally they are attested with an accusative, which may function as Object and in combinations of *arha* and a second local adverb they can even govern an expression of Location. The presence of local adverbs cannot be connected with any of these functions in particular, since they are attested with each type of construction. With the exception of *appa* (frame 15), expressions of Origin are marked by a sentence particle; see frame 3, 6, 10, 13 and 22.

With some local adverbs the presence or absence of sentence particles corresponds with a different translation of the local adverb in its use with the predicate. This is the case with *arha poi* and *arha uya-* in frame 3 and 4, "to go or come away" as opposed to "to go or come home" and with *parā ija-* and *parā poi-* in frame 11 and 12, meaning "to move or go on to" and "to go out to" respectively.²² On the other hand a similarity in meaning can be observed between *anda poi-* and *anda uya-* (frame 1) and *andān poi-* and *andān uya-* (frame 2), which do vary in the use of sentence particles. The combinations *kutta poi-* (frame 5) and *kuttan poi-* (frame 7) are often treated as synonyms, since both can have the meaning "to go down to".²³ Their basic usage may, however, originally have been different: The combination *kutta poi-* is constructed with an inanimate expression of Direction and has the meaning "to go down to", whereas with *kuttan poi-* "to go (in)to (the presence of)" the expression of Direction is as a rule an animate noun. This shows that the fact whether a noun belongs to the semantic category of animate or inanimate nouns can be a relevant factor in the structure of the predicate frame of *ijs-*, *pai-* and *uya-*.

In this respect it is important to note that the distribution of the dative and ablative with the three motion verbs and *dā-* suggests that Starke's theory (1977) about the use of the dative with animate nouns in the functions of the allative, locative and ablative with inanimate nouns, discussed in § 1.1.1, applies to later phases of the language as well; see § 3.1.2 and 4.1.4.

If we contrast the predicate frames of the motion verbs in table 5.2 with those of the verb of "removal" *dā-* and concentrate on the arguments of the predicate frame that occur beside the Subject and the Object constituents, we find that some of the predicate frames of table 5.2 also appear with *dā-*:

nr	local adverb	predicate frame and use of sentence particles with <i>dā-</i>
1	<i>anda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction inanimate+animate
3	<i>arha</i> "away"	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate
6	<i>kutta</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate

²² With *arha* the construction of frame 3 and 4 is different as well.

²³ See, for instance Friedrich (HW: 154): *kutta(n) poi-*: "hinabgehen; hingehen; mitgehen". In the CHD (P1: 31) *kutta poi-* and *kuttan poi-* have been treated separately.

10	<i>sard</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate
13	<i>parā "out"</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate
14	<i>appa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate
22	<i>ayān arha</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate

(Table 5.3. Predicate frames of table 5.2 occurring with *dā-*)

This table shows that 7 out of 18 derived predicate frames based on *dā-* are also found with the predicates of motion *iya-*, *pai-* and *mu-*. The corresponding frames consist of the only two constructions of *dā-* with an expression of Direction (frame 1 and 14) and all the frames of combinations of *dā-* with local adverbs denoting removal of an entity from a place (frame 3, 10, 11, 13 and 22).²⁴ The construction of *dā-*, in other words, coincides in those cases where the predicate expresses a movement to or from a certain place. This indicates that the influence of a local adverb on the construction of the predicate and on its habits in the use of sentence particles is the same with predicates that belong to the same semantic sphere.²⁵ If the emphasis is on the action of taking itself, *dā-* governs a Subject and an Object constituent only.²⁶ The derived predicate frames *sarā dā-* "to take up" and *parā dā-* "to take, to select", which are based on this bivalent *dā-*, have no sentence particle, although they do have a particle when they mean "to take up from" (frame 10) and "to take away from" (frame 13) respectively.²⁷ The predicate frames found with combinations of *arha* and a second local adverb and the verbs of motion are different from those found with *dā-*.²⁸ In the combinations with *dā-*, where *arha* has kept its local meaning "away from", the predicate expresses removal of an entity from a place or person, whereas the combinations of *arha* and a second local adverb with *iya-*, *pai-* and *mu-* are based on a special notion of *arha pui-* "to pass" and accordingly indicate various notions of "passing" of a place or person.

Independent local adverbs do not belong to the main construction of the predicate, but can govern a Complement in the dative-locative or noun phrase level. These combinations of a local adverb and a Complement can be described as postpositional phrases. This is, for instance, the case with ANA ⁶¹"*itudganni EGIR-pui* and ANA "*Hūduphunca ser* in (50-MH) and (199-NH):

²⁴ Most of these predicate frames of *dā-* are in complementary distribution with constructions governing an Indirect Object, which indicate removal of an entity from a person; see predicate frames (4.7), (4.10), (4.13) and (4.16) in § 4.5.

²⁵ This conclusion will be tested in § 5.3.

²⁶ Predicate frame (4.1) in § 4.5.

²⁷ Cf. predicate frames (4.11) and (4.15) with (4.13) and (4.16) in § 4.5.

²⁸ Cf. frame 23, 24 and 26 in table 5.3 with frames (4.19) to (4.21) in § 4.5.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

- (⇒ 50-MH) ANA ^{GL} *huduganni =ma =at EGik-pa* I tKU *iqanta* "But they march one
IXU behind the cart.", § 2.3.4
IB6T I 36 II 30 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18–19)
- (⇒ 199-NH) [n = at = kan ANA "Hūdūpijanza šer arha pāir" "They went away for
the sake of Hudupianza.", § 3.3.3
KBo XVI 6 III 6–7 (CTH 61 JISE) ed. CHD (P/I: 30)

In the structure of a postpositional phrase, the postposition and its Complement are both obligatory elements. The Complement can only be omitted, if it can be inferred from the context:

- (⇒ 49-NS) ('The blacksmiths bring in two ox heads of silver.') *perann = a* ^WSAGI.
LIS.A *nallanza iqattari* "In front (of them) walks the cup-bearer (all)
dressed (up)", § 2.3.3
IUB II 5 II 35–39 (CTH 612.4A) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 80–81)

In the following examples we find a combination of the Old Hittite construction of a local adverb serving as a host for an enclitic possessive pronoun in combination with a Complement in the dative-locative:²⁹

- (⇒ 45-MH) GAL LU MEŠ SÜKUR =ja =šmal NIMGIR ERIN MEŠ =ju katti =šni iqanta
"Both = chief = spearmen and an army bailiff march with them.",
§ 2.3.2
IB6T I 36 II 50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 20–21)
- (⇒ 182-OH+) GLU =uš =ta =kkam katti =ti arha patzzi "The cow passes under you (and
you pull out a tuft of its hair) UDU =uš =ta =kkam katti =ti [arha
patzzi]" "The sheep passes under you (and you pull out its fleece).",
§ 3.2.17
IUB XXX 54 II 14–16 + KUB XXXIII 47: 2'–5' (CTH 334.1A) translit.
Laroche (1965: 139), transl. Hoffner (1990: 28)

Middle and New Hittite examples of this Old Hittite construction often show this double use, which can be explained by the fact that the enclitic possessive pronoun was no longer a part of the spoken language in Middle and New Hittite.³⁰

Independent local adverbs have no effect on the occurrence of sentence particles in the sentence. When the basic predicate is not accompanied by a sentence particle, as in the case of *ija-*, *pai-* and *uya-* and an independent local adverb is present in the sentence, one does not find a sentence particle either. With the predicate *dā-* and independent local adverbs we find the same patterns in the use of sentence particles as with the basic predicate, namely no particle with bivalent *dā-* and *-ušta* or *-kan* with trivalent *dā-*.

There are two major correspondences between the sample verbs *ija-*, *pai-*, *uya-* and *dā-* in their use with local adverbs. The first is their great capacity to combine with

²⁹ The Old Hittite construction will be described in § 3.2.

³⁰ See Melcher (1977: 36–38), with examples, for the situation in New Hittite. In the Mayet letters pure instances of the Old Hittite construction occur in expressions of the type *kati = n hūman SIG₅ -in ēšdu* "May everything be fine with you," HKM 27: 20, cited in § 5.4.2 as (375-MH), *in passim*. In the plural we find *kattan = ūmaš = hūman SIG₅ -in ēšdu* in HKM 60: 30–31 ed. Alp (1991b: 234–235) and *kai-tu-uš-ma-ah* (probably a variant spelling for *kattan = ūmaš* with assimilation of the final *-n*; see HE (§ 36a) *hūman SIG₅ -in ēštu* = HKM 57: 6–7 ed. Alp (1991b: 226–227).

local adverbs: see the discussion ad table 5.1 earlier in this section. The second point of agreement is that the local adverbs mostly have a literal, local meaning. Only in the case of *āppa sara dā-*, which must mean something like "to sollicit" (frame 4.22), the combination of local adverbs and *dā-* has lost its literal meaning altogether. In two other combinations of the verb *dā-*, namely *-za iara dā-* and *-za ūer dā-*, a special connotation "to scoop (up)" seems to have developed from the literal translation "to take up for oneself" (frame 4.12 and 4.14 in § 4.5).

5.2 The function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite

The function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite has been thoroughly treated by Starke (1977). As mentioned in § 1.1.1 Starke's study was a break through in the discussion about the function of local adverbs in the sentence. He convincingly showed that local adverbs ending in *-a* (group I) have a different function in Old Hittite than local adverbs in *-n* (group II) and he was the first to define their function in relation to the predicate.³¹ Since his comprehensive description of the situation in Old Hittite is available, my treatment of this subject will concentrate on two issues only, in which I partly disagree with Starke. The first is the distribution of dependent and independent use over the local adverbs of group I and II and the second is the question to what extent local adverbs in Old Hittite had a different relation with the predicate than in later Hittite.

The distribution of local adverbs over the sample verbs in the Old Hittite examples of ch. 2–4 is shown in the following table:

local adverb	dependent use				independent use			
	<i>iya-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uuya-</i>	<i>dā-</i>	<i>iya-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uuya-</i>	<i>dā-</i>
<i>anda</i>		X	X	?				
<i>arha</i>	?			?				
<i>arahza</i>	?	?						
<i>katta</i>	X	X						
<i>kattan</i>						?		
<i>sarā</i>	X	X	X					
<i>parā</i>	X		X					
<i>peran</i>								?
<i>āppa</i>	X	X	X					?
<i>āppanda</i> (<i>āppananda</i>)	X	X			X			
<i>išurna</i>	X							
<i>menahhanda</i>	X	X						

(Table 5.4. Distribution of local adverbs over the sample verbs in Old Hittite.)

³¹ In this section Starke's views will only be briefly referred to; a more detailed description can be found in § 1.1.1.

³² There is one Old Hittite example of *sarā āppa uya-*, (234-OH) in § 3.4.8, where *āppa* may be used as independent Adjunct of Time meaning "again".

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

This table shows that the number of local adverbs that are combined with *pai-*, *m̄a-* and *dā-* in Old Hittite is much lower than in later Hittite (see table 5.1 in § 5.1). Although table 5.4 fits in with Starke's theory that focal adverbs ending in *-a* are always dependent and local adverbs in *-n* always independent of the predicate, it is, in this form, not valid as a general rule for all verbs in Old Hittite. As explained in § 1.2, the dependence of a noun phrase or other type of constituent from the predicate is not determined by its grammatical form but by the meaning of the predicate with which it occurs. The verbs that occur with local adverbs in *-a* in Old Hittite, as shown in the survey by Starke (1977: 201–202), are indeed mostly verbs of motion or other verbs expressing or implying a notion of movement or removal. It seems reasonable to assume that with these verbs local adverbs in *-a*, which (in origin) are nouns in the allative indicating a notion of Direction, are always dependent on the predicate. Starke's assumption that nouns in the locative, and for that matter local adverbs in *-n* as well, are always independent of the predicate, regardless of its meaning or construction, is in my opinion incorrect. There are verbs where the presence of an expression of Location is an essential completion of their verbal content, like *tija-* "to place", *es-* "to be (in a certain place)", the deponent *ar-* "to stand" and *ki-* "to lie".¹³ These verbs can be provisionally called "verbs of position". With this type of verb, local adverbs in *-n* are used as expressions of Location and are therefore also dependent on the predicate.¹⁴

- (329-OH) *[t̄i] M̄ES DUGUD LÚ M̄ES SUKUR ZABAR [pe] m̄a(n)=.smi a[sa]nzi* "The officers (and) the men of the bronze spear are in front of them."
KUB XXXVI 104 rev. 7 (CTH 8.D) cited by Starke (1977: 162)
- (330-OH) *[ÉRIN.MEŠ]-ti = ma+sšan* "šer GIL ZAB[AR] kitta" "On top of the troop(s) a bronze dagger is placed."
KBo XVII 1+ II 19'-20' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Ševček (1969: 26–27),
translit. Neu (1980a: 7)
- (331-OH) *t̄i an h̄aššaš perim tianzi* "They place him in front of the hearth."
KBo XVII 18 II 8' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 100)
- (332-OH) *DAM¹⁵ GUDU₁₆ andan šimnaš k-n̄ [šar] h̄ [(ul)]iqaš per[an (arta)]*
"The wife of the priest stands in the house of the god, in front of the pillar."¹⁷
KBo XVII 15 rev. 13' (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)¹⁸

¹³ See already Boley (1985: 19, 1992: 7) and Lunghini (1990: 34–35). The same has been observed for other languages. Latin examples of verbs which may be completed by an expression of Location are *habere* "to live, to dwell" and *cessare* "to pass one's time (in a place), to subsist (in a place)". see Pinkster (1990: 15, 28). English examples mentioned by Allerton (1982: 123) are "to stand" and "to be (in a certain place)".

¹⁴ The local adverbs in these examples are part of larger constructions on sentence or noun phrase level, which will be described below when dealing with the relation of local adverbs in *-a* with the predicate.

¹⁵ The Hittite noun behind the spelling ÉRIN.MEŠ-an is singular; see n. 2 in § 4.1.1

¹⁶ See the discussion by Boyson-Dietrich (1987: 83–84) with ref.

¹⁷ With restorations from the New Hittite manuscript KBo XVII 40 IV 7'. See also Starke (1977: 168).

In (332-OH) the verb of position *ar-* governs two local adverbs *andar* and *perun*, which both serve as expression of Location.

As observed by Starke (1977: 181–187) *katta* with some verbs behaves like a local adverb in *-a*, but with others it is used as a local adverb in *-n*, governing an Attribute in the genitive, or following a Complement in the locative, constructions normally restricted to local adverbs in *-n*. The following examples show that *katta* can be used as a dependent local adverb in *-a* with a verb of motion (117-OH), as a dependent local adverb in *-n* (i.e. like *kattan*) with a verb of position (333-OH), and finally as an independent local adverb in *-n*, in (334-OH) and (335-OH):

- (=117-OH) [LUGJAL¹⁸] Kuššara URU-at katta [p]angarit [u][pi] "The king of Kuššara came down from the city with massed troops.", § 3.2.4
KBo III 22 obv. 5 (CTH 1,A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10–11)
- (333-OH) [(UGULA¹⁹ MULALDIM)] h̄aštāš katta k̄it urta "The chief of cooks stands on this side by the hearth."
KBo XVII 15 rev' 14'-15' (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)²⁰
- (334-OH) [²¹hištā] h̄aštāš katta edi paršanā harzi "The man of the *hištā*-house has crouched in that side by the hearth."
KBo XVII 15 rev' 15'-16' (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)²²
- (335-OH) UGULA²³ MULALDIM kur[sas] perin²⁴ [BANSUR katta III]-[su]
lipanti "The chief of cooks libates 3 times in front of the *kurša*, next to the table."
KUB XLII 30 II 9'-10' (CTH 645.7) translit. Neu (1980a: 77)

Starke conjectured that Old Hittite had two local adverbs *katta* coinciding in form but with a distinct function, namely a terminative *katta* belonging to group I and a locative *katta* / *katti* – belonging to group II (1977: 134).²⁵ It is, however, more likely that here we have the beginning of the gradual merging in function of the two sets of local adverbs attested in Middle and New Hittite; see § 5.1.

Now the second question can be addressed, whether the relation of dependent local adverbs with the predicate is different in Old Hittite compared to Middle and New Hittite. According to Starke local adverbs in *-a* have the same function with the predicate as any other noun in the allative. This means that they serve as Direction Complements of the predicate and as such are in apposition to any other Complement of the predicate in the dative or allative. If this is correct, they have an entirely different relation with the predicate than in later Hittite, where they form a semantic unity with the predicate (§ 5.1).

Table 5.5 shows which of the predicate frames of table 5.2 in § 5.1, listing the predicate frames of the sample verbs in their use with dependent local adverbs in Middle

¹⁸ The restorations are based on the New Hittite manuscript KBo XVII 40 IV 8'. Cf. Starke (1977: 183).

¹⁹ Cf. Starke (1977: 184).

²⁰ *Kurša* is generally regarded as a special form of *kattan*, in its Old Hittite use as host for an enclitic possessive pronoun; see Friedrich (1996 § 247c).

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

and New Hittite texts, are also present in Old Hittite. Differences with the situation in Middle and New Hittite are marked in bold type face:⁴¹

1	<i>anda</i>	COMPLEMENT, no sent. part or sent. part, optional. ⁴² Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uqa-</i> , <i>dā-</i>
6	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT, no sent. part Origin	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uqd-</i>
9	<i>sarā</i>	COMPLEMENT, no sent. part. Direction	<i>pai-</i>
10	<i>sarā</i>	COMPLEMENT, sent. part, optional Origin inanimate	<i>uqa-</i> ⁴³ , <i>dā-</i>
11	<i>parā</i> "on, forward"	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> ⁴⁴
12	<i>parū</i> "out"	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>pai-</i>
14	<i>dppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> ⁴⁵ , <i>uqa-</i> , <i>dī-</i>
17	<i>dppanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uqa-</i> ⁴⁶
18	<i>ištarna</i>	no sent. part.	<i>pai-</i>
19	<i>menahyanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uqa-</i>

(Table 5.5. Relation between dependent local adverb, use of predicate frame and sentence particle with the sample verbs in Old Hittite.)

Less than half of the predicate frames of table 5.2 are found in Old Hittite texts and many examples of these predicate frames are cases of absolute use. As shown in this table, the structure of the predicate frames is the same in Old Hittite and in later texts. There are also no indications that in the Old Hittite examples of ch. 2–4 the combinations of local adverbs and verb have a different meaning.⁴⁷ A difference with the later situation is that there are no examples of dependent local adverbs with *ija-* in Old Hittite originals. Additionally, it can be noted that predicate frames with an expression of Origin do not

⁴¹ Because of the scarce evidence for each predicate frame, remarks about the semantic category animate or inanimate of the noun phrase in Complement position have been omitted.

⁴² There is one example of *anda pā-* with *-im*, see (86-OH) in § 3.2.1.

⁴³ There is one example of *uqa dppa uqa-* without sentence particle, which may be an instance of absolute use of this construction of *uqa uqa-* with independent *dppa* "again", see (234-OH) in § 3.4.8 with n. 143, where it is remarked that a parallel manuscript shows traces of *-ištū*.

⁴⁴ In Old Hittite *parā dī-* is only attested with a bivalent predicate frame; see § 4.2.6 and predicate frame (4.15) in § 4.5.

⁴⁵ Only attested in absolute use.

⁴⁶ Only in absolute use.

⁴⁷ Of the dependent local adverbs listed in table 5.4 only *arja* has a different meaning and function in Old Hittite, which is discussed below.

occur with *pai-* in Old Hittite.⁴⁸ The third and most significant difference with later Hittite is the absence of sentence particles in Old Hittite with frames that are later accompanied by such a particle. In this respect it is interesting to note that in the only case where the sentence particle is necessary to distinguish between two frames that are identical in structure, but correspond with a different meaning of the predicate, namely frames 11 and 12 of *pai-pai-*, a sentence particle is already used in Old Hittite. In the other cases the sentence particle is either absent or, with *anda* *pai-* in frame 1, optional. This shows that the habit to add sentence particles to certain combinations of predicate and local adverb was not yet customary in Old Hittite.⁴⁹

If we approach the problem of the function of the local adverbs in -a in Old Hittite from the situation in Middle and New Hittite, the similarities in meaning and construction and the occasional presence of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uya-* seem to indicate that they were no longer treated as common nouns in the allative, but already had the status of, or at least were developing into, a group of adverbs that could form a semantic unity with the predicate. The only manifest indication that they may have had a looser relationship with the predicate is their position in the sentence. In later Hittite their dominant position is immediately before the verb following a possible Complement or Indirect Object, whereas in Old Hittite they are as a rule placed away from the verb preceding the Complement or Indirect Object.⁵⁰

In this respect it is important to realize that there are a few examples which show the word order in later Hittite, in which local adverbs in -a follow the Complement and appear before the verb!⁵¹

- (336-OH) [LUGULA¹¹] MUIJALDIM *marmumal* iipantuziakdar LUGAL-i *pai-pai-*
epz[i] "The chief of the cooks holds out to the king a vessel of *marmumal*."
KUB XLIII 30 II 8', ed. Neu (1980a: 77)
- (⇒292-OH) [DING]IR.DIDLI-ša DUMU MEŠ-irš A.AB.BA-az šarā dār "The gods, however, lifted the children up from the sea.", § 4.2.4
KBo XXII 2 obv. 4-5 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6-7)
- (⇒140-OH) LUGAL-i *pai* 1-st. *pai*zi "He goes once forward to the king.", § 3.2.8.
KBo XVII 43 111'-12' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)
- (⇒117-OH) [LUG]AL¹¹ Kuššara URU-az *katta* [p]angarit [u][é]t "The king of Kuššara came down from the city with massed troops.", § 3.2.4
KBo III 22 obv. 5 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10-11)

⁴⁸ Note the contrast with the situation in Middle and New Hittite, where five such frames (3, 6, 13, 15 and 22) are found with *pai-*.

⁴⁹ For the fact that sentence particles are less often employed in Old Hittite see § 1.1.2 with references.

⁵⁰ The position of local adverbs in Hittite sentences is described in more detail in § 5.4.

⁵¹ In (140-OH) the regular word order is abandoned. The Complement LUGAL-i is fronted, immediately followed by *pai*; see § 5.4.1, p. 160-161. (117-OH) is an example of the habit, described on p. 165 and 173-174, to place specific types of Adjuncts between the local adverb and the verb.

The last three instances are sentences with *dā-*, *pai-* and *uya-*, where the structure of the predicate frame coincides with the patterns established for the sample verbs in Middle and New Hittite in § 5.2.²² Luraghi (1990: 33 + n. 62) rightly observed that in the first example, (336-OH), the addition of *parā* to the predicate *ep-* influences the valency of this verb. Whereas the basic predicate *ep-* "to seize, to grab" is bivalent, *parā ep-* "to hold out to" is trivalent, requiring the presence of a Subject, Object and an Indirect Object. This use of *parā ep-* is widely attested in later Hittite.²³ In these Old Hittite examples of the word order pattern, which is common in Middle and New Hittite, we are likely to have the first examples of the later situation in which the local adverb forms a semantic unit with the predicate.²⁴

As shown by Starke the function of local adverbs in -a is quite different from that of local adverbs in -u. This group of local adverbs in Old Hittite still behaves like nouns or at least betrays its nominal origin, in that they may host an enclitic possessive pronoun or govern a noun phrase in the genitive. In both cases the local adverb functions as the Head of an obligatory Attribute. The later construction where the local adverb follows and occasionally precedes a Complement in the dative or locative is also found in Old Hittite.²⁵ On p. 141 examples (329-OH) to (332-OH) were cited to show that local adverbs in -a can function as an expression of Location with verbs of position. The fact that this nominal use with a genitive Attribute or possessive pronoun also occurs when they belong to a verb of position, as shown by *perat(n)-šmit* "in front of them" and *hakkas peram* "in front of the hearth" in (329-OH) and (331-OH), indicates that in these cases they do not yet form a unity with the predicate, but function as Complements of Location.²⁶ Their use with a dative or locative in Old Hittite, as e.g. *ERIN MES-ši šer* "on top of the troot(s)" in (330-OH), can accordingly be described as two Location Complements in partitive apposition.²⁷ Dependent local adverbs in -a are, unlike their counterparts in -u, always placed before the verb and have the same position as in later Hittite.²⁸

In the following example *kattan* cannot be interpreted as an expression of Location in the locative. Here it already seems to have the function that local adverbs in -u can

²² See frames 10, 11, and 6 in table 5.2 and 5.3 in § 5.1.

²³ See the survey of the verb *ep-* with and without *parā* in Koenenhuber (HW²: 44–45 and 73–82).

²⁴ Since in (336-OH) and (340-OH) *parā* follows instead of precedes *LUGAL-a*, the dative *LUGAL-i* is interpreted by Starke as an independent dative with locative function (1977: 179–180) meaning "for the king" instead of "to the king". It is, in my opinion, not very likely that the only constituent of the sentence that can indicate the Direction for the Recipient with *parā ep-* of the "direktivische Verben" *mu-* and *ep-*, namely the dative *LUGAL-i*, may not be interpreted as such, so that this function is to be inferred from the context.

²⁵ I tend to agree with Neu (1974a: 68–69) that the construction with the genitive is older, is gradually replaced by the one with the dative or locative and that this development shows how they slowly but steadily lost their original nominal characteristics. According to Starke they function as nouns in all of these usages, none of which can be shown to be older than the other (1977: 175–176).

²⁶ A similar statement was made by Luraghi (1990: 35) about the function of *andar* with *zikk-* "to place" in KUB XXII 2 obv. 2–3 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7). The other example, KUB XXIX 20 1 8', is wrongly quoted as an instance of *andar* serving as Complement with *hark-* "to perish", which is clearly a monovalent verb. This example is cited as (366-OH) in § 5.4.1.

²⁷ The description of this construction as a case of partitive apposition has been adopted from Starke (1977: 175–176); see § 1.1.1. I should, however, be noted that in Starke's opinion these locatives do not serve as Complements of the predicate, but as independent Adjuncts. A different interpretation has been suggested by Boley (1985: 19).

²⁸ See the more detailed description in § 5.4.1.

have in later Hittite: it modifies the meaning of the predicate and thus forms a unity with the verb *damaš-/dameš-* ‘to press, to push’;³⁹

- (337-OH) (‘You are constantly oppressing the craftsmen.’) *apē-ma [kattan]⁴⁰ dameškiyan dāir* ‘They, however, have started to oppress (others)⁴¹.⁴²
KBo XXII 1: 3–4’ (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 45–46)

The similarity in construction and meaning of the local adverbs *ištarna* and *menuhanda* in their use with *pai-* and *uya-* seems to indicate that their function with these verbs was the same in Old Hittite; see table 5.5.⁴³

The local adverb *arha* which is so widely attested in later Hittite is rarely used in Old Hittite and mostly in broken sentences.⁴⁴ The only complete or almost complete examples are:

- (⇒ 113-OH) (‘When on the sixth day they open (and) dra[w] up the curtain.’)
LUGAt-*ui arha paizzi* ‘the king goes away (or: outwards).’, § 3.2.3
KBo XX 10+ 11–2 (CTH 669) translit. Neu (1980a: 131)
- (⇒ 276-OH) [... *[yilānat hūm[an]duš DINGIR MES-as arha dā[u][e]ni* ‘We will take away the pieces [clay |] from all the gods.’, § 4.2.2
KBo XIX 156+ II 16 (CTH 752.1A) translit. Neu (1980a: 222)

On the basis of so little evidence it is impossible to say anything definite about the function and meaning of *arha* in Old Hittite. The instances of *kattan arha* cited by Neu (1983: 27), all of which are unfortunately in broken context, remind us of the later use of *arha* in combination with another local adverb. The possibility of a trivalent construction of *arha dā-* in (276-OH) and the fact that the translation ‘away’ fits in both cases may also be seen as signs that *arha* is losing or already has lost its original position of noun in the allative in Old Hittite. On the other hand, it can be noted that the use of *arha paizzi* in the only complete sentence with *arha*, is very similar to that of *araliza* *pai-* in another Old Hittite ritual in a similar context:

- (⇒ 204-OH) [(The king)] puts on h[is gear,])] LU[GAL-*us*] *a[rah] za paiz[zi]* ‘(and) the king goes outside.’, § 3.4.1
KBo XVIII 11+ I 32’ (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 14–15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65)

As mentioned in § 3.4.1, *araliza* may have kept its original nominal character even in later Hittite.

³⁹ See also Lüragh (1990: 34).

⁴⁰ The word *kattan* is clearly readable in the text copy.

⁴¹ Differently Archi (1974: 46): ‘et ceux-ci en conséquence ont commencé à (vous) opprimer’.

⁴² Cf. Starke’s view, they have a(n independent) locative function, regardless of the verb they are used with; see § 1.1.1.

⁴³ See the examples cited by Starke (1977: 207) and Neu (1980: 26–27).

5.3 The relation between local adverb, verb and sentence particle in Middle and New Hittite: Completion of the main results of § 5.1

The main conclusion of § 5.1 is that the addition of dependent local adverbs to the verbs *iya-*, *pai-* and *uya-* results in the same types of predicate frames with the same habits in the use of sentence particles. These were listed for each local adverb in table 5.2. As was shown in table 5.3, some of these patterns occur with *dā-* as well, namely in those cases where the combination of local adverb and predicate expresses a notion of movement to or from a place. This was taken as an indication that the influence of a local adverb on the construction of the predicate and possibly on its habits in sentence particles is the same with predicates belonging to the same semantic sphere. In this section, we will try to show the plausibility of this inference by demonstrating that the same kind of predicate frames are found with two motion verbs of a different type, namely the trivalent verbs *pehute-* 'to take, to lead (away) to' and *uya-te-* 'to bring, to lead (back) to'.⁶⁴ Then the results will be presented of a study of the sentences with local adverbs in a sample of Middle Hittite and New Hittite texts showing that the same predicate frames are found with other verbs of motion. The comparison of the predicate frames will be restricted to the first fifteen predicate frames of table 5.2 belonging to local adverbs that can be combined with a great number of other verbs and where the effect on the construction and meaning of the verb is the most evident.

Local adverbs with pehute- and uya-te-

In its use without local adverbs, *pehute-* is constructed with a Subject, an Object and an expression of Direction, whereas *uya-te-* may govern the same construction with an expression of Direction or one with an expression of Origin. This same distribution is found with *pai-* and *iya-* (§ 3.1.1 and 3.1.2).⁶⁵ As a rule no sentence particles are employed with the basic predicate *pehute-* and *uya-te-*. See the following examples:

- (338-MH) *mu "Kilna[pili]š ERIN MEŠ-on*⁶⁶ *Hinduwa zahltija pehute* "Kišnapiliš led his troops to battle against Hinduwa. (Madduwattaš, thereafter, did not go to battle against Dalauya in all.)"
KUB XIV 14 obv. 68–69 (CTH 147) ■. Görlze (1927: 16–17)
- (339-lateNH) ("Tarhunianasadu I took along with his wives [...]") *nisan*⁶⁷ *PUNA* 'UTU-asi URU-ri *[uya]* temun "I led him to Arinna, the city of the Sungoddess."
KUB XXIII 13: 8–9 (CTH 211.4) ■. Sommer (1932: 314–315)
- (340-NH) *kuitman*⁶⁸ *SANGA*⁶⁹ *Astatata uyaðanzi* "As long as they are leading the priest from Aštata, (as long as they are) on their way to arrange the

⁶⁴ I thank prof. Hoffner for letting me use a first draft of the lemma *pehute-*, which is to appear in the third fascicle of CHD (P), and for his suggestion to include *pehute-* and *uya-te-* in my study as motion verbs with a different syntactic structure than *iia-*, *pai-* and *uya-*.

⁶⁵ These verbs are formed with the same prefix *pe-* 'whither, forth' and *u-* 'whither, back'. As mentioned in § 3.0, with verbs containing the prefix *pe-* the movement of the verb is conceived as directed away from the speaker, in those with *u-* as coming back to the speaker.

Chapter 5

rites of the god, if you, o god, will not in anger further add anything extra to this illness of his Majesty, let the KIN-oracle be favourable.)'"
KUB V 6+ I 39'-42' (CTH 570; see Sommer 1932: 276)

Under each of the fifteen predicate frames of table 5.2, examples of *pēhute-* or *uyate-* will be cited, which show the same predicate frame. In the description of the predicate frames in this table only the constituents are indicated that occur beside the Subject or Subject and Object.⁶⁶ In the third column the occurrence with *dā-* (table 5.3) and *pēhute-* or *uyate-* has been added:

1	<i>unda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sem. part. Direction	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> , <i>dā-</i> , <i>pēhute-</i> , <i>uyate-</i>
---	-------------	--------------------------------------	--

- (341-NH) ("In a dream someone (looking) like a prince came in. (...)" *nus ga> mu = kan anda kuedanikki pidi pēhute* "He led me into some place." KUB XXXI 71+ III 2-3, 7-8 (CTH 297.19) ed. van den Hout (1994: 310, 313)
- (342-NS) ("She (= the Old Woman) holds a palace attendant by (his) šeknu-garment") *n = an = kan LUGAL-i anda pēhutezzi* "and he leads her in to the king." KUB XXXV 163 III 12-14 (CTH 754.2A)
- (343-MH) ("You, Pipappa, lead the UKU US-troops quickly across") *n = an = kan tuččija anda ugate* "and lend them (back) into the army." HKM 39: 1-7 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 182-183)

2	<i>andau</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i>
---	--------------	-------------------------	---------------------------

andau is not attested in combination with *pēhute-* and *uyate-*.

3	<i>arha</i> "away"	COMPLEMENT + sem. part. Origin	<i>iia-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> , <i>dā-</i> , <i>pēhute-</i> , ⁶⁷ <i>uyate-</i>
---	--------------------	-----------------------------------	--

- (344-MH) *āppa = ma = kan'* ^aUTU^b ištu^c KUR^d Šalpa^e i[š]tu^f KUR^g Pitaš^h ūⁱ
ÉRIN MEŠ ANSE KUR RA.HLA *arha uyatenum* "Later, however, I, My Majesty, led the troops (and) charioteers away from the land of Šalpa and from the land of Pitaš ū."
- KUB XIV 1+ rev. 38 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 28-29)

⁶⁶ The semantic category animate or inanimate of the Complement is only noted in frame 5 and 7, where it was shown to be a relevant factor in the structure of the predicate frame; see § 5.1.

⁶⁷ With *pēhute-* this construction only occurs in absolute use: *i = an = arha arha pēhute* "They led him away" KBo III 6-7 (CTH 8.A. OH+) and *i = an = arha arha pēhute* in duplicate KBo III 36 I 14' (MS C).

⁶⁸ The reading *a-ap-pi-mu-kun* has been suggested by Öttes (1969: 26). In this example *āppa = ma* functions as a connector relating paragraphs in a temporal sequence although as such is independent of the contents of the predication; see § 1.1.1, p. 9-10 and CHD (L-N: 97).

⁶⁹ See Garstang and Gurney (1959: 100).

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

4	<i>arha</i> "home"	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> , <i>pehute-</i> ⁷⁰ <i>uuate-</i>
---	--------------------	-------------------------	---

- (345-NH) *n=aš arha =pai pait* "He went home straight away. (He did not come near me at []) . He let the troops (and) charioteers of the land of Ḫaui march ahead of him." *n=an arha pēhute-* "and [] them home".
StBoT 24: II 49–51 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 14–15)

- (346-NH) ("I also captured Pihuniijaš") *n=an ^{1st}KU.BABBAR-ši arha uyatenu* "and I led him home to Ḫattuša. (Then I came back from the land of Tipiša.)"
KBo III 4 III 89–90 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götz (1933a: 94–95)

5	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>pehute-</i> , <i>uya-</i> ⁷¹ <i>uuate-</i>
---	--------------	--------------------------------------	---

- (347-MH+) ("They wash them (= the horses) with warm water.") *namma=aš ID-i katta pēhudanzi* "Then they lead them (= the horses) down to the river."
KBo III 2 obv. 28–29 (CTH 384.4) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 130–131)

6	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin	<i>iqa-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> , <i>dd-</i> <i>pehute-</i> , <i>uuate-</i>
---	--------------	------------------------------------	--

- (348-NS) *n=ašta antukšuš [kuč]za K.A.GAL.HLA-za katta kunanna [pē]hudanzi* "From which gate they lead the men down to kill (them), (you shall bring those (evils) down from there.)"
KUB XXX 34 IV 20–23 (CTH 401.3A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 158)

- (349-NH) [*ne*] *pišat⁴ U-aš⁴ U⁵ Nerikki-ya-ka nepišaza katta SIG₅-in uya[te]*
"O Stormgod of heaven, lead the Stormgod safely down from heaven to the city of Nerik."
KUB XXXVI 70 rev. 64'–65' (CTH 671) ed. Haas (1970: 156–157)

7	<i>kattan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate	<i>iqa-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uya-</i> , <i>pehute-</i> , <i>uuate-</i>
---	---------------	------------------------------------	---

- (350-NH) ("These lands that I resided,") *nu KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.R[(A.MEŠ)] kēt ŠA KUR⁷² ANA ŠEŠ :IA lah[hi i]NA ^{1st}Miṣr GAM-an pēhutenwi* "the troops (and) charioteers of these lands(!) I led (in)to the presence of my brother, on campaign against Egypt."
StBoT 24 II 70–72 (CTH 81.A) ed. Otten (1981: 16–17)

⁷⁰ Only without explicit expression of Direction.

⁷¹ Only attested in combination with an expression of Origin; see (349-NH).

⁷² This is the only complete example of frame 7 with *pehute-*, where we have, in fact, a combination of the

Chapter 5

- (351-NH) ("Because NIG.BA⁴-U-aš, the king of Kinza, killed Aitaggama, his father.") *n = an = inu kattan ayater* "they brought him into my presence." KBo IV 4 II 65-66 (CTH 61.IISB) ed. Götze (1933a: 120-121)

8	<i>kattanda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>iia-, pati-, uya-, pehute-</i>
---	-----------------	---------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

- (352-NH) ("I sent him a messenger and wrote to him: 'The servants of mine, of whom you took possession.'") *nu = ya = aš = kan ina¹ Gašga kattanta pēhutet* "and whom you [] down into the Kaška city, (send them home to me!)" KBo III 4 III 76-78 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 90-91)

9	<i>sara</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>iia-, pati-, uya-, pehute-</i>
---	-------------	---------------------------------------	---------------------------------------

- (353-NH) "UTU¹¹ = kan kuit¹² Héharyá KARAS.MLA UGU pēhutezzi "Because His Majesty will lead the army up to mount Héharyá." KUB V 11 46 (CTH 561) ed. Ural (1974: 40-41)

10	<i>sara</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin	<i>iia-, uya-, dā-, mata-</i> ¹³
----	-------------	------------------------------------	---

- (354-MH+) *mājhan = ma = aš ina III KASKAL yetenaz sara uya danzi* "When in the third round they lead them (= the horses) up from the water, (they give them one hand of hay.)" KBo III 2 rev 4-5 (CTH 284.4) ed. Kammenhuber (136-137)

11	<i>parā</i> "on, forward"	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>iia-, pati-, pehute-</i>
----	---------------------------	-------------------------	-----------------------------

- (355-NS) *n = an LUGAL-i parā pēhu]tez]zi* "He (=the chief of guards) leads him (= the cupbearer) forward to the king."¹⁴ KUB II 5 V 1 (CTH 612.4) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 92-93)¹⁵

constructions KARAS - KUR¹¹ ANA ŠEŠ-MA GAM-an pēhutezu "The troops etc. I led (in)to the presence of my brother" and KARAS - KUR¹¹ lalhi ANA KUR Mizzi pēhutezu "The troops etc. I led on campaign against Egypt."

¹² The absence of the sentence particle in (354-MH+) is typical for the Kikkuli text, see Zuntz (1936: 108), Kammenhuber (1952: 84 and 1961: 332) and Neu (1980: 159). The Maṣat letter HKM 43 contains two broken passages with *sara ayate-* and the particle *-adda* in lines 8'-10' and 1'-3'; see ed. Alp (1991b: 194-197).

¹³ Similarly KBo XXI 85 1 8-9 + KBo VIII 109 1 3'-4' *n = an LUGAL-i parā pēhutezzi* (CTH 630.A). I wonder if the use of *=kan* with *parā pehute-* "to lead forward" in IBoT IV 63: 9'-10' (NS), cited in the CHD rP2, (20), is not a mistake caused by the reading *anda pehute-* (always with *-kan*) in the duplicate KBo XXI 78 1 11-12 (NS).

¹⁴ Their translating "Er bringt ihn zum König hinaus" is not correct. The contexts indicates that the king is in the same room as these officials.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

12	<i>parā "out"</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>iia-, paɪ-, (pehute-⁷⁶), uyate-</i>
----	-------------------	---------------------------------------	---

- (356-MH) *nu = ūšar É[RIN.MEŠ ^{1RC}] Dalauya KASKAL-ši parā [uyater]* "Then they led the troops ~~in~~ of the city of Dalauya out to the road. (Then it came about that they blocked the road ~~for~~ our troops.)"
 KUB XIV 1+ obv. 71 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 18–19)⁷⁷

13	<i>parā "out"</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin	<i>iia-, paɪ-, uqa-, dā-, uyate-</i>
----	-------------------	------------------------------------	--

- (357-NS) ("He (=the seer) raises him (=the sacrificer)") *u = am = kan KA.GAL-az
parā uyatezzi* "and leads him out of the main gate."
 KBo V 2 III 39 (CTH 471.A)

14	<i>dppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>paɪ-, uqa-, dā-, pehute-, uyate-</i>
----	-------------	-------------------------	---

- (358-NH) *n[u] * atatash̄ntar k]uinno apel ANA TURU = ū EGIR-pa [(pehute)]* "He (=my father) led back the population, everyone to his own town (and they again occupied the towns ~~in~~ the population.)"
 KUB XIX 11 IV 14–16 (CTH 40.IID) ed. Guterbock (1956: 65)⁷⁸

- (359-NH) ("He [took many prisoners]") *u = an EGIR-pa INA ^{1RC} Šamula uyate[1]*
 "and brought them back ~~in~~ Šamula."
 KUB XIX 11 I 9–10' (CTH 40.IID) ed. Guterbock (1956: 63)

15	<i>dppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Origin inanimate	<i>iia-, paɪ-, uqa-, uyate-</i>
----	-------------	-----------------------------------	---------------------------------

- (360-lateNH) ("Even if this (= the offspring of a daughter of Kurunta) is in a foreign country.") *u = at apetit̄ - ja EGIR-pa uyadiatdu* "one has to bring it back from there too (and install this person on the throne in the land of Tarhuntas̄a.)"
 Bo 86/299 III 19–20 (CTH 106) ed. Otten (1988: 20–21)⁷⁹

⁷⁶ With the exception of a few instances of *parā pehute-* in absolute use, which can belong to frame 12 or 13, see e.g. KBo XXXIV 185 15 cited in CHD (P/2: 113), there are no certain instances of this construction with *pehute-*. There is one example where *pehute-* may be restored: KUB XXIX 55 1–16 (CTH 285.1. MH) *nu = uš = ū ū yahnuššu parā plehutemi* "I lead them out to the circle" ed. Kammerhuber (1961: 150–151 + p. 10). See also Starke (1995: 66). For the use of *pehute-* with horses as Object see (347-MH+) and (354-MH+).

⁷⁷ Cf. CHD (P/2: 116).

⁷⁸ Guterbock's restoration of the particle *-kan* seems unnecessary with *dppa pehute-*.

⁷⁹ With restorations from KUB XIX 10 II 4'–5' (MS E).

⁸⁰ The same expression is found in KBo IV 80 obv. 13'–14' (CTH 106) ed. van den Hout (1995: 24–25).

Local adverbs with other verbs: a test

Table 5.6 below shows the verbs that occur in a sample of Middle and New Hittite texts with one or more of the first fifteen predicate frames of table 5.2 repeated above. For this test sample the following texts have been selected: The Maṣat letters in the edition by Alp (1991b) and the Hittite instruction for the Royal Bodyguard (CTH 262) edited by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991) as examples of Middle Hittite texts and the manuscripts of the Annals of King Mušili II (CTH 61) that were edited by Görlitz (1933a)⁸¹ and the Apology of King Ḫattušili III (CTH 81) in the edition by Otten (1981) as New Hittite texts.

In table 5.6 the editions are cited in conformity with the conventions of the CHD:

- AM: Görlitz, A. 1933a. *Die Annalen des Mušili* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 38). Leipzig.
 HBM: Alp, S. 1991b. *Hethitische Briefe aus Maṣat-Hüyük*. Ankara.
 AS 24: Güterbock, H.G. and Th.P.J. van den Hout. 1991. *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*. (Assyriological Studies 24). Chicago.
 StBoT 24: Otten, H. 1981. *Die Apologie Ḫattušili III. Das Bild der Überlieferung* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 24). Wiesbaden.

verb	predicate frame in table 5.2	translation of predicate frame and occurrence in sample text (with page number of the edition) ⁸²
<i>ar-</i> "to arrive, to reach"	frame 1	"to arrive in" IBoT I 36 IV 3–4 (AS 24: 32–33)
	frame 11	"to reach on to" KBo III 4 III 69–70 (AM: 88–89)
<i>amu-</i> "to make go, to lead, to bring"	frame 8	"to make go or force down into" KBo V 8 III 35 (AM: 158–159)
	frame 10	"to lead up to" HKM 65: 11–12 (HBM: 244–245)
	frame 12	"to bring out to" HKM 25: 18–19 (HBM: 164–165)
<i>hundai-</i> "to line up"	frame 9	"to attempt to go up" IBoT I 36 I 57 (AS 24: 10–11) ⁸³

⁸¹ Additions and joins to the Annals that were published later have not been included in this restricted text sample.

⁸² Of each predicate frame one instance is cited.

⁸³ The verb *hundai-* has a wide range of notions, see Pubvel (MED, Vol 3: 96–107). The translation of this isolated instance of *hudi hundai-* has been adopted from Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 11). In this use, which may be derived from the meaning "to line up", *hundai-* behaves like a motion verb. The Direction "to the palace" is to be inferred from the context. Similarly, the expression *anda hundai* with a dative (+ -kun) "to join up with" can be compared with *anda poi-* with an animate expression of Direction "to go in to"; see § 3.2.1.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

<i>huitija-</i> "to draw, to pull"	frame 1	"to drag into" KBo V 8 II 29-30 (AM: 154-155) ⁵⁴
	frame 3	"to draw away from" HKM 71: 26-28 (HBM: 256-257)
	frame 5	"to pull down" HKM 7: 8 (HBM: 130-131) ⁵⁵
<i>hingai-</i> "to run, to rush"	frame 13	"to rush out of" HKM 59: 4-7 (HBM: 232-233)
<i>hiamai-</i> "to move, to march, to go"	frame 1	"to march in to" KBo V 8 III 23-24 (AM: 158-159)
	frame 2	"to march in to" KBo IV 4 IV 17 (AM: 134-135)
	frame 11	"to move on, to progress" SIBoT 24: III 7-8 (ib: 16-17) ⁵⁶
	frame 12 or 13 ⁵⁷	"to move out" IBoT I 36 II 23-24 (AS 24: 16-17)
<i>nai-</i> "to turn, to send"	frame 3	"to send away from" HKM 37: 11 (HBM: 186-187)
	frame 12	"to send out to" HKM 36: 5 (HBM: 182-183)
	frame 13	"to send out of" HKM 89: 10-11 (HBM: 290-291)
<i>penna-</i> "to bring, to drive"	frame 4	"to send home to" HKM 89: 23-24 (HBM: 290-291)
	frame 6 ⁵⁸	"to drive down" HKM 66: 12 (HBM: 246-247)
	frame 9	"to drive up to" KUB XIV 15 III 43 (AM: 54-55) ⁵⁹
	frame 10 or 11 ⁶⁰	"to drive back" HKM 17: 7 (HBM: 142-143)
<i>peššija-</i> "to throw"	frame 3	"to throw out" HKM 10: 38-39 (HBM: 136-137) ⁶¹

⁵⁴ I follow Götzte at assuming that the Direction is to be supplied from the context: "die Mannschaft, die er in geringer Zahl dorthin geliefert hatte."

⁵⁵ This is not a very clear example. The context is broken and both the Object and the expression of Direction are omitted. Frame 6, with an expression of Origin and a particle, is attested with *huitija-* in KTH XV 34+ I 21-22: *n̄ a uštu TUGkareššar | ISTU*⁶² BANSUR AD KID *huitijonzi* "They pull a length of cloth down from the reed table." (CTH 483 A, MS 11; Zootz (1937, 492-493), see Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 345).

⁵⁶ The instance in IBaT I 16 is a case of absolute use, which may also belong to frame 11.

⁵⁷ Note that *parū qunna-* is used here in a figurative sense.

⁵⁸ Without expression of Origin.

⁵⁹ In this instance the Direction or Origin is omitted, so that it may belong to frame 14 or 15.

⁶⁰ The Direction ⁶¹ Arimunda is not mentioned in this sentence, but to the next one.

⁶¹ The sentence *n̄ a yar̄ a n̄ a kan arha peššijonzi* can be interpreted as "I threw him out (of Zikkalla)". Alp translated: "Ich habe ihn zurück geworfen".

Chapter 5

<i>peda-</i> "to bring, to carry"	frame 5 frame 8 frame 9 frame 12 or 13 ⁹²	"to bring down to" SiBoT 24: II 53 (ib: 14–15) "to bring down into" KBo III 4 III 70–71 (AM: 88–89) "to carry up to" IBoT I 36 III 62 (AS 24: 62–63) "to carry out" IBoT I 36 I 14 (AS 24: 6–7)
<i>pia-</i> / <i>pešk-</i> "to send"	frame 1	"to send into" HKM 46: 18–21 (HBM: 202–203)
	frame 11	"to send off, to dispatch" IBoT I 36 I 31 (AS 24: 8–9) ⁹³
<i>piddai-</i> "to run"	frame 14 or 15	"to run back" IBoT I 36 III 10 (AS 24: 24–25) ⁹⁴
<i>tarna-</i> "to let go or come"	frame 1	"to let come into" SiBoT 24: IV 49 (ib: 26–27)
	frame 9	"to let go up to" HKM 31: 5–7 (HBM: 174–175)
	frame 13	"to let go out or leave" IBoT I 36 I 73 (AS 24: 12–13) ⁹⁵
<i>tja-</i> "to step, to take a stand"	frame 11	"to step forward" IBoT I 36 III 44–45 (AS 24: 26–27) ⁹⁶
<i>uija-</i> "to send, to chase"	frame 3	"to chase away from" SiBoT 24: I 72 (ib: 8–9)
	frame 10	"to chase up to" KBo V 8 III 30–31
	frame 11	"to send off, to dispatch" SiBoT 24: I 66 (ib: 8–9) ⁹⁷
<i>unna-</i> "to take, to drive"	frame 8	"to take down (into)" HKM 31: 19 ⁹⁸
	frame 14	"to drive back to" HKM 47: 10 (HBM: 202–203)
<i>uppa-</i> "to send"	frame 4	"to send home to" KBo III 4 III 78 (AM: 90–91)

⁹² Neither the Direction nor the Origin is mentioned.

⁹³ Only attested in absolute use; see CHD (P2: 113).

⁹⁴ An instance of absolute use.

⁹⁵ The Origin *Ehila-* is mentioned in the next sentence (ibd. 24).

⁹⁶ With omission of the Direction.

⁹⁷ Without expression of Origin.

⁹⁸ The Object and the Direction seem to be omitted.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

<i>uda-</i> "to take, to carry"	frame 4 frame 7 frame 14	"to take home to" KBo III 4 I 34 (AM: 22–23) "to take (in)to (the presence of)" HKM 7B: 22 (HBM: 174–175) "to bring back to" HKM 46: 22–23 (HBM: 202–203)
<i>uahmu-</i> "to turn"	frame 14	"to turn back to" KBo IV 4 II 7–8 (AM: 12–113)
<i>yatkunu-</i> "to chase"	frame 3 ⁹⁴	"to chase away from" KUB XIV 15 IV 23 (AM: 68–69)

(Table 5.6. Verbs in sample texts showing one or more of the predicate frames of table 5.2.)

The common denominator of the verbs listed in table 5.6 is that they all express a notion of movement. The verbs *pelyute-* and *uya-* belong to a group of contrasting pairs of verbs meaning "to take, to bring". The other two pairs are *peda-*, *uda-* and *penna-*, *umua-*. The difference between these verbs is the semantic category of the Object. In the words of Starke (1977: 342): "*pelyute-* bedeutet dasselbe wie *peda-*, der Unterschied besteht lediglich darin, daß das Objekt zu *pelyute-* immer eine Person, zu *peda-* immer ein Gegenstand ist". The Object of the third pair *penna-* and *umua-* are as a rule animals (live stock).⁹⁵ Since the predicate frames of *pelyute-* and *uya-* coincide with those of *ija-*, *pai-* and *aya-*, it is likely that the same holds for the pairs *peda-*, *uda-* and *pennu-*, *umua-* in table 5.6. The verbs *aruu-*, *fungat-* and *ijamari-* also seem to have the same sentence patterns in their use with local adverbs.⁹⁶ The active verb *ijamari-*, which originated as a durative of *ija-*, shows predicate frames attested with *ija-* and *pai-*.⁹⁷

As was observed with *dā-*, table 5.3 in § 5.1, the fact that a verb shares some of its constructions with motion verbs like *ija-*, *pai-* and *aya-* does not imply that the function of local adverbs is the same in all its uses. They may have a wider range of notions with different constructions and habits in the use of sentence particles. This is especially clear with *yangdai-* and *yatkunu-*, which only in one or two particular uses share a frame with the verbs of table 5.2.⁹⁸ With the other verbs in table 5.6, the addition of a local adverb generally results in a predicate frame with the same structure, but here deviations in the use of sentence particles may occur, either the result of special notions or of minor differences in meaning. With *parā nai-*, for instance, no distinction is made between the construction with an expression of Direction and a particle meaning "to send out" (frame 12) and the one without such a particle meaning "to send forth, to dispatch" (frame 11).⁹⁹ In its use with *appa* it also shows a different use of sentence particles. When *appa nai-* has the meaning "to return", it is not accompanied by a sentence particle,

⁹⁴ The verb *yatkunu-* is only attested with *urha*, see Friedrich (HW: 250).

⁹⁵ This rule, however, is not without exceptions; see e.g. p. 151 n. 76.

⁹⁶ This observation is based on the treatment of these verbs in the dictionaries by Kammenboer (HW², A: 328–336) and Puhvel (HEW, Vol. 3: 419–423 and Vol. 2: 326–326).

⁹⁷ Only frame 2 is not attested with *ija-*, but there is one broken example of *ondan ija-* mentioned in § 2.4.1.

⁹⁸ See n.83 and 99 ad table 5.6.

⁹⁹ See CHD (P/1: 112) citing one instance without particle and CHD (P/2: 120).

just like *āppa ija-*, *āppa poi-* and *āppa uju-*, with which it shares this use (frame 14 or 15). When, in the mediopassive, *āppa nui-* has the notion "to turn (oneself) back" or, in the active, means "to send (someone) back", it does have a sentence particle.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes a different notion of a verb in combination with a local adverb corresponds with a change in construction. This is, for instance, shown by *anda huitija-*, which with the literal meaning "to drag into" behaves like a verb of motion governing predicate frame 1, but also occurs with an Object and without *-kan* when used in the sense "to draw in, to curtail".¹⁰⁶

Although frame 3 of *arha* (with an expression of Origin and a sentence particle) is attested with a great number of other verbs, the alternation with frame 4 (without sentence particle and expression of Direction) is restricted to motion verbs formed with the prefix *pe-* and *u-*; see *penna-*, *appa-* and *udo-* in table 5.6. This was already observed by Kammenhuber (HW¹, A: 259, 263–275) with regard to Götsche's rule for the different translation of *arha* with and without *-kan*; see § 3.2.3.

In the description of the sample verbs, we saw two clear examples of sentences with two local adverbs belonging to two different constructions of the predicate; in § 2.2.13 a combination of *arha ija-* with frame 3 (+ particle) and *andar ija-* with frame 2 (without particle) and in § 3.2.23 an instance of *arha uju-* with frame 3 (+ particle) and *appa uju-* with frame 14 (without particle). These were all examples in which only one of the constructions requires a sentence particle. In a recent article Neu (1993) discussed interesting examples in which two sentence particles are found in one sentence. These can be explained as instances of a combination of two constructions of the predicate, which are both attended by a sentence particle. See the following examples with two local adverbs, where we find a combination of frame 6 and 1 with *penna-* and a combination of frame 13 and frame 1 with *peda-*.¹⁰⁷

- (361-NH) *{lik|katti+ma=kan ANI'zA 1st Ti|yanzanuza kattu KU'R-e}) s kan anda pennai* "The next morning my father drove down from Tiyanzana into the country."
 KBo XIV 3 IV 26'-27' (CTH 40.IIP) ed. Götterbock (1956: 76)¹⁰⁸
- (362-MS) *n:atta⁶⁸ MA istappeštaš PA-as istappeš[naz] para¹³ ID=kan anda pēd[al]i* "The outlet of the dam carries the boat out of the dam into the river."
 KUB XXIX 7+ rev. 51–52 (CTH 480) ed. Lebrun (1976: 124, 131)¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ See CHD (L-N: 355, 353, 358) with examples.

¹⁰⁶ See §§ 86/299 123 *ān+zit ABU'zA 7th ando huitmat* "My father curtailed his boundary" (CTH 106) ed. Oltén (1988: 10), cited by Puhvel (HE.D. Vol 3: 47).

¹⁰⁷ Among Neu's examples are also instances with two Complements with the same semantic function in one and the same sentence. In fact, these are also instances of a combination of two constructions governed by the predicate and local adverb, each time accented by a sentence particle. See, for instance, ("From (its) breast they take a test sample") *n=at=kan* ¹³ *ālī (trūshī ANA LG15=kan)* *anda dūlī* "and they place it in the incense vessel, in the linseed oil," KBo XXXV 253+ obv. II 15'-17' (CTH 628.15) cited by Neu (1993: 140).

¹⁰⁸ Restorations from KUB XIX 18 IV 22' (MS G).

¹⁰⁹ Cited according to Neu (1993: 139).

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

In this study all attention has been focused on the function of local adverbs and sentence particles with verbs expressing motion. Different types of verbs will show different predicate frames and a different distribution of sentence particles. The principle of the interaction between local adverb, predicate and sentence particle, however, applies to all Hittite verbs. Dependent local adverbs form a semantic unity with the predicate. Depending on the meaning and the construction, this unity of local adverb and predicate may or may not require the company of sentence particles.

The function of local adverbs with other types of verbs is yet to be studied. In this book I tried to show that this can be successfully done, if one tackles the problem for a group of verbs with similar notions. It would, for instance, be interesting to look at the function of local adverbs with verbs requiring the completion of an expression of Location, like *tija-* "to place", *es-* "to be (in a certain place)", the deponent *at-* "to stand and *ki-* "to lie".¹¹⁰ In my opinion, these verbs will likewise show general patterns in the structure of the predicate frames and the use of sentence particles. Verbs like *ep-* "to seize, to grab" and *pai-* "to give" govern different types of constructions in their use without local adverbs, so the addition of dependent local adverbs to these verbs is likely to result in different kinds of predicate frames and habits in the use of particles.

With regard to the function of local adverbs, Hittite verbs roughly fall into two categories. The first and largest group consists of motion verbs and the other verbs mentioned above, which have two important characteristics in common. First of all they can be combined with a fair amount of local adverbs and secondly the local adverbs mostly keep their literal, local meaning. There is also a substantial group of Hittite verbs, though smaller than the first, that only permits local adverbs to be used in a non-literal, figurative sense.¹¹¹ These verbs are also quite particular in their choice of local adverbs. This non-literal use, which is most often found with *arha*, may be a later development, since it does not occur with any certainty in Old Hittite. Examples of this use are *kattan arra-* "to wash off", and *arha arra-* "to wash off", *arha hamink-* "to utterly destroy", *arha i-* "to untie, to detach" and *appa lá-* "to release (from a spell)".¹¹²

Up till now, we only considered the relation of sentence particles with local adverbs and the predicate and concentrated on explaining their presence or absence in the sentences we studied. With regard to the function of the sentence particles two opposing views have been defended, the local theory introduced by Göthe (1933b) and the aspectual theory developed by Josephson (1972); see the description in § 1.1.2. Neither the local nor the aspectual theory seems to be able to explain the function of the sentence particles in each of their attestations. Hoffner (1992) was the first to allow for the possibility that sentence particles can have both functions, by showing that with *sənhi-* this class of particles seems to have a local function, but that their function with *hamink-* can better be explained in aspectual terms as intensifying "the 'telic' force of the verb and stressing the finality of the result" (1992: 148).

In view of the close interaction that could be observed between local adverb, verb and sentence particle, one can wonder whether the answer to the problem of the function of the sentence particles may be a multiple one, linked with the function of the local adverbs. With verbs of the first group where local adverbs predominantly have a local

¹¹⁰ Their function in Old Hittite has been discussed in § 5.2.

¹¹¹ See already Zuntz (1936: 9–10 and 107–111).

¹¹² See Kammenhuber (HW², A: 233–234), Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 161–166) and CHD (I–III: 1–4).

function, sentence particles also have a local function, probably the primary function of both classes of words, whereas with the verbs of the second group the local adverb and the sentence particles have an aspectual function, which may well be a secondary development.¹¹²

The meaning of the individual sentence particle is hard to determine, since in the course of the history of the Hittite language they show, as described in § 1.1.2, a growing tendency to take over each other's functions or to simply disappear. With the sample verbs of ch. 2–4, -*asita* and -*kan* are both employed when the combination of local adverb and predicate indicated a movement to, from and past a certain place or person and may have the function to emphasize this movement. The other particles are too rarely used with these verbs to describe their function with any certainty. The aspectual function of -*kan* and -*asita* with verbs of the second group may with Josephson (1972: 416–417 et passim) be described as terminal or telic, emphasizing the finality or completion of the action of the predicate.

5.4 Position of local adverbs in the sentence

In this paragraph the position of local adverbs in the sentence will be discussed and the possible relation between their function with the verb and their position in the sentence will be considered. The position of local adverbs will be treated separately for Old Hittite and Middle–New Hittite. In § 5.4.1 a survey is given of the patterns of word order that are found in the Old Hittite examples with local adverbs of ch. 2–4 and in other Old Hittite texts. In § 5.4.2 the position of local adverbs in later texts is described by comparing the results obtained with the sample verbs of ch. 2–4 with the types of word order found with other verbs in a sample of Middle and New Hittite texts.

The following list shows the abbreviations that will be used and the categories that will be distinguished in the word order patterns of the Hittite examples cited in the following sections:¹¹³

S	=	Subject
O	=	Object
IO	=	Indirect Object
C	=	Complement
V	=	Verb ¹¹⁴
A	=	Adjunct
Attr	=	Attribute

¹¹² See Hoffner's observation (1992: 146) with regard to *kuhi-* and *haranki-*: "This might mean that the localizing function existed before the intensifying one" (italics Hoffner). See also Kühnheuer (HW², A: 479–482).

¹¹³ My representation of the sentence patterns is a modification of the one used by Luraghi (1990). Elements of the sentence that only function on noun phrase level have not been marked in the word order patterns, except for constructions governed by a local adverb. These are indicated in terms of Complement, and in Old Hittite also Attribute, belonging to the local adverb and are put between braces; see § 5.1 and 5.2.

¹¹⁴ In most cases V is a finite verb serving as predicate, but it can also be a combination of a finite auxiliary with a nominal form of the main verb or a dependent infinitive; see Luraghi (1990: 17).

la	=	dependent local adverb ¹¹⁶
{la}	=	independent local adverb ¹¹⁷
cl	=	pronominal clitic
cl,	=	pronominal clitic serving as x, where x can be S, O, IO, C, A or Attr
conn	=	sentence connective: accented sentence connectives like <i>nu-</i> and <i>namma</i> and the enclitic sentence connectives -ma, -a and -(j)a. ¹¹⁸
copula	=	<i>idem</i>
inter	=	interrogative adverb
mod	=	modal particle <i>man</i>
neg	=	negation
part	=	sentence particle (-an, -(a)pa, -(a)šta, -šan, -kan), reflexive particle (-z(a)) or particle of indirect speech (-ya(r))
Pred	=	Predicative Complement
sub	=	subordinating conjunction
()	=	constituent with this function can be absent or omitted ¹¹⁹
()	=	construction on noun phrase level governed by a local adverb.

In addition to the use of the self explaining terms clause initial and clause final position, I will use two terms to describe other important positions in the sentence: see Luraghi (1990: 13):

- first position: the position of the first accented word, preceded only by an accented connective
 last position: the position of the last word of the sentence before the verb

5.4.1 Situation in Old Hittite

The position of local adverbs in Old Hittite sentences, which is different from that in later Hittite, has extensively been described by Starke (1977), Boley (1985) and Luraghi (1990). Starke (1977: 152–167) was the first to observe that the dominant position of a local adverb ending in -a (group I) is before the noun in the dative or allative with which it stands in apposition.¹²⁰ In this case the sentence has the following word order:¹²¹

(1) (S) (O) la (C/IO) V

- (⇒ 130-OH) *la =at Sarā URU-[ju] pait* “He went up to the city.”
 (conn = cl, la C V), § 3.2.7.
 KBn XXII 2 rev 14' (CTH 3) ■. Otten (1973: 12–13)

¹¹⁶ In Old Hittite sentences also used for local adverbs serving as Complements of the predicate; see § 5.2.

¹¹⁷ The braces indicate that the local adverb does not belong to the construction on sentence level, which is governed by the predicate.

¹¹⁸ The conjunction -a, which coordinates sentences and noun phrases, is only marked in the sentence patterns if it is used as a sentence connective.

¹¹⁹ Omission of a constituent is used here in the sense that a constituent is required by the predicate, but not explicitly mentioned, since it can be supplied from the immediate context. Luraghi uses the term in a stricter sense, excluding certain cases of absolute use (1990: 37–40).

¹²⁰ Among the instances of “Vorstellung” cited by Starke (1977: 152–155) are also examples in which the local adverb is fronted; see p. 161–162.

¹²¹ See Luraghi (1990: 32).

Chapter 5

- (⇒150-OH) *mān appa=ma¹²⁰ Nēša [uyan(un)]* "But when I came back to Neša."
 (sub la=conn C V), § 3.2.9.
 KBo III 22 rev. 76 (CTH 1.A) ed Neu (1974a: 14–15)
- (363-OH) *n=an appa išhi=šli pianzi* "They will give him back to his owner."
 (conn=cl₀ la IO V)
 KBo VI 2 IV 45'–46' (HG 1 § 95, CTH 291.IA), ed. Friedrich (1959: 46–47),
 transl. Hoffner (1995a: 22)
- (364-OH) **DUMU.NITA.MEŠ [š][pp]a¹²¹ Nēša janzi** "The sons make (their way)
 back to Neša."
 (S la C V)
 KBo XXII 2 obv. 7 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7)

If one of the functions in this sentence pattern is expressed by an enclitic personal pronoun, it is appended to the first accented word of the sentence.¹²² In (130-OH) the Subject is cliticized and in (363-OH) the Object. When the Complement is omitted, the local adverb automatically takes last position, that is the position immediately before the predicate (V).¹²³ See, for example:

- (⇒163-OH) |(LÜ¹²⁴ GIDRU-*as*¹)¹⁰ Dāni*j*a LÜ.MEŠ *hapieš appanda uenzi* "The
 staff bearer of Daunija (and) the *hapija*-men follow."
 (S la V), § 3.2.11
 KBo XVII 43 15' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 104) and (1983: 359)
- (⇒148-OH) [*mjan ina UD III¹²⁵*] *ap[pa pa]iwanī* "When, on the third day, we go
 back."
 (sub A la V), § 3.2.9
 KBo XVII 25 obv. 6' (CTH 752.IB) translit. Neu (1980a: 224)

Boley (1985: 13) noted that local adverbs of group I sometimes follow instead of precede the Complement or Indirect Object. See the following examples from Starke's corpus of Old Hittite texts:¹²⁶

- (⇒140-OH) **LUGAL-i parā I-MU paizzi** "He goes forward once to the king."
 (C la A V), § 3.2.8.
 KBo XVII 43 111'-12' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)
- (⇒336-OH) |(UGULA¹²⁷)¹²⁸ MUHALDIM *marnuandaš išpanuziaš* for LUGAL-i *parā*
epc[i] "The chief of the cooks holds out to the king a vessel of *marnu-*
ant."
 (S O C la V), § 5.2.
 KUB XLIII 30 II 8', ed. Neu (1980a: 77).

¹²² This may, of course, affect the order (S) (O) (C/O).

¹²³ The predicate always takes clause final position; see Luraghi (1990: 17).

¹²⁴ According to Starke (1977: 179–180) the dative does not depend on the predicate, but has a locative function; see n. 54 in § 5.2.

In (140-OH) *parā* immediately follows the Complement LUGAL-*i*, which is in clause initial position. It is, therefore, possible that in this case the usual word order pattern (1) is abandoned in order to emphasize the Complement.¹²⁵ Example (336-OH), however, is a clear example of the following sentence type:

- (2) (S) (O) (C/I/O) la V

In § 5.4.2 we will see that pattern (2) is the dominant order for local adverb in Middle and New Hittite. Apparently the first traces of this word order are already present in Old Hittite. Luraghi (1990: 33) even suggested that word order (2) is the rule rather than an exception, when the Complement is an expression of Origin in the ablative:

- (⇒292-OH) [DING]IR.DIDL-I-*s-a* DUMU.MEŠ-*uš* A.AB.BA-*az* ūrā dāir "The gods, however, lifted the children up from the sea."

(S = conn O C la V), § 4.2.4

KBo XXII 2 obv. 4-5 (CTH 3) ed. Otter (1973: 6-7)

- (⇒117-OH) [LUG]AL ¹²⁶ KUŠKARA URU-*az* *katta* [*p*]angarit [*u*] [*ēt*] "The king of Kuškara came down from the city with massed troops."

(S C la A V), § 3.2.4.

KBo III 22 obv. 5 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10-11)

So far, the examples of local adverbs in -*a* were dependent on the predicate. As described in § 5.2, *katta* sometimes behaves like an independent local adverb in -*a*. In these cases the position of *katta* seems to be relatively free:

- (⇒334-OH) ¹²⁷ [*hištā*] haštās *katta* edi paršnān *harzi* "The man of the *hištā*-house has crouched on this side by the hearth."

(ill. {Attr+la} A V), § 5.2

KBo XVII 1 rev' 15'-16' (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)

- (⇒335-OH) UGULA ¹²⁸ MES MUHALDIM *kur[šaš]* peran ¹²⁹ [š]BANSUR *katta* [il]-[ši]
šipanti "The chief ¹³⁰ cooks libates 3 times in front of the *kurša-*, next to the table."

(S {Attr+In} {Attr'+la} A V), § 5.2

KUB XLIII 30 II 9'-10' (CTH 645.7) translit. Neu (1980a: 77)

Starke stated that the local adverbs in -*a* (group 1b), unlike their counterparts in -*a*, can both precede and follow the noun in the locative with which they are in apposition or partitive apposition.¹²⁵ Luraghi (1990: 35), however, may well be right in observing that the local adverb is emphasized whenever it is preposed. In three of the four instances cited by Starke (1977: 168), the local adverb is fronted, not only preceding its Complement but all the other constituents of the sentence, as for instance in (365-OH):¹²⁷

¹²⁵ For fronting of a constituent see below ad pattern (3a) and (3b).

¹²⁶ See the description of his observations in § 1.1.1.

¹²⁷ For fronting see below ad pattern (3a) and (3b).

Chapter 5

- (365-OH) *andan - a ē-ri kuit harakzi* "What, however, perishes inside the house."
 (I {la} = conn {C} S V)
 KBo VI 2 IV 54' (HG II § 96, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 48–49), transl.
 Hoffner (1995a: 229)
- (366-OH) *[(ku-i)]t kuit ē-ri andan [(harakzi)]* "Whatever perishes inside the house."
 (S {C la} V)
 KUB XXIX 28 I 8' (HG II § 24, CTH 292.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 68–69),
 transl. Hoffner (1995a: 231)

(366-OH) has been added to show that if *andan* is not emphasized and placed at the beginning of the sentence, it follows instead **II** precedes the Complement. In Starke's fourth example (332-OH) the predicate *ar-* "to stand" is constructed with two expressions of Location in apposition, *andan* *šūnas ē-ri* and *šarhulijas peran*. Here stylistic factors (chiasm) and the desire to contrast *andan* with *peran* may have played a role in the "Vorstellung" of *andan*:

- (⇒332-OH) DAM 11 GUDU₁₁ *andan šūnas ē-ri [šor]b[ul]ijas peran (arta)*
 The wife of the priest stands in the house of the god, in front of the pillar
 (S la C {Attr} la V), § 5.2
 KBo XVII 15 rev' 13' (CTH 645.6) transl. Neu (1980a: 73)

The construction of the local adverb **II** -n, whether it is in (partitive) apposition with a Complement in the dative or locative, whether it governs a nominal Attribute in the genitive or serves as a host **II** an enclitic possessive pronoun, does not affect its position in the sentence.¹² What appears to be **II** influence is its relation with the predicate. The normal position for a local adverb **II** -n, if it is dependent on the predicate, seems to be before the verb and after the Complement. This word order, pattern (2), is the dominant order for all dependent local adverbs in later Hittite (§ 5.4.2). See, for example:

- (⇒331-OH) *t=an hattat peran tianzi* "They place him in front of the hearth."
 (conn=cl, {Attr} la V), § 5.2
 KBo XVII 18 II 8' (CTH 649) transl. Neu (1980a: 100)
- (⇒337-OH) *apē+ma [k]atta[n] dumeskipan dāir* "They, however, have started to oppress (others)."
 (S=conn la V), § 5.2
 KBo XXII 1: 3'-4' (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 45–46)

The following example is the only exception. Here the Complement [ERIN.MEŠ]-n is fronted and the Subject is placed between *ter* and the verb:

¹² See also Luraghi (1990: 34–35).

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

- (⇒330-OH) [ERIN.MES]-ti-ma-ssan s̄er GIR ZAB|(AR)] *kitta* "On top of the troop(s)
a bronze dagger is placed."
(C=conn=part Ia S V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 1+ II 19'-20' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 26-27),
translit. Neu (1980a: 7)

Luraghi (1990: 121) observed that independent local adverbs have a relatively free position in the sentence. They can occur in various positions, but are also found immediately before the verb. Examples of this relatively free position are provided by *katta* in (334-OH) and *appan* in (367-OH):

- (⇒334-OH) [¹]^{h̄iṣṭā]} *haššāš katta edi puršnān ḫarzi* "The man of the *ḥiṣṭā*-house
has crouched on this side by the hearth."
(S {Attr Ia} A V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 15 rev' 15'-16' (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)
- (367-OH) [₁]^{an} ^{"Pi]thānaš attaš smal appan ūniq̄a yilti [h̄]ullanuz h̄ullanan} "Af-
[■ my father Pithana, I inflicted a defeat in the same year."
teconn {Attr Ia} A O V
KBo III 22 obv. 10-11 (CTH 1.1A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10-11)

In the following examples the independent local adverbs *katta* (kati-) and *andau* are found in last position:

- (⇒44-OH) [₁ LU 1 MUNUS *kattiš ūti tēnta* "One man and one woman shall go with
him."
(S {Attr Ia} V), § 2.3.2.
KBo XXII 1; 14' (CTH 272) ■■■. Aschi (1974: 46-47)
- (⇒366-OH) [₁]¹ [₂]¹ *(ku-i)ti kuit ū-ni andau [(harakz̄i)]* "Whatever perishes inside the
house."
(S {C Ia} V), § 5.4.1
KUB XXIX 28 1 8' (HG II § 24, CTH 292.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 68-69),
transl. Hoffner (1995a: 231)

The local adverbs *menahhanda*, *ištarno*, *arha* and the other local adverbs that do not belong to Starke's groups I (local adverbs in -o) and II (local adverbs in -n) are always in last position. Only *menahhanda* is attested in sentences with a Complement, in which case it follows the Complement (pattern 2). See e.g.:

- (⇒169-OH) [₁]¹ [₂]¹ *Hassī LUGAL-i menahhanda zahhija uit* "The man of Hassī
came to bathe against the king."
(conn S C Ia A V), § 3.2.13.
KBo VII 14 obv. 7 (CTH 15.A) transl. Otten (1953: 60)

The dominant word order can be changed by placing one of the constituents at the beginning of the sentence. As explained by Luraghi (1990: 84), constituents are fronted for pragmatic purposes in order to be emphasized, contrasted or given special attention.¹²⁹ If the local adverb is fronted, which is comparable to *tmesis* in Greek grammar, the sentence changes accordingly. Depending on the type of sentence connective (accented, enclitic or absence of a connective in case of *asyndeton*) the local adverb can be in sentence initial or in first position. In the first case possible enclitics are appended to the local adverb:¹³⁰

- (3a) $\text{la}(\text{-cl}) \text{ (S) (O) (C) V}$ or (3b) $\text{conn}(\text{-cl}) \text{ (S) (O) (C) V}$

Examples of these sentence patterns are:¹³¹

- (⇒86-OH) *anda = si(tu purna nañi paizzi)* "He has not yet entered the house."
 (la = part C neg V), § 3.2.1
 KBo VI.2 IV 20' (HG 1 § 93, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 46–47), transl. Hoffner (1995a: 228)
- (368-OH) *ts an anda III-iš LUGAL-uš MINUS.LUGAL-la z̄rija allupakhanzi* "Three times the king and queen spit into the cup."
 (conn = part la A S C V)
 KBo XVII 3+ IV 31–32 (CTH 416.1B) ed. Otten and Šoutek (1969: 38–39), translit. Neu (1980a: 18)

In examples where the local adverb belongs to a predicate that governs both an expression of Origin and an expression of Direction, the word order is as follows:

- (4) (S) (O) C=Origin ■ C=Direction V

- (369-OH) *[app]eziyan = a "Anittaš LUGAL.GAL.⁴xiu(n)e.šu|m([min] ⁵)⁶KU*
Zjálpuyač appa ⁷⁸⁹ Nēša pē|taḥ̄wir "Later on, however, I, Anitta, the Great King, took our god from Zalpuya back to Neša."
 (A = conn S O C=Origin la C=Direction V)
 KBo III 22 obv. 41–42 (CTH 1.1.A) ill. Neu (1974a: 12–13)¹³²

There are two Old Hittite instances where two local adverbs in -a occur in the same sentence. Both are sentences without an explicit Complement and in each case both local adverbs occur in last position:

- (⇒234-OH) *t=at appa šarā tē uēzzī* "Let these not come up again."
 (conn = cl₅ la la neg V), § 3.4.8.

¹²⁹ The pragmatic aspects of fronting are discussed by Luraghi (1990: 83–109).

¹³⁰ See Luraghi (1990: 33, 120–121).

¹³¹ (368-OH) is the only Old Hittite example of a fronted local adverb in -a occurring in first position. The other examples are instances of the normal word order (1), where the position before the Complement = Indirect Object coincides with the first position in the sentence, see e.g. (190-OH), (130-OH) and (363-OH) noted on p. 159–160.

¹³² Restorations from KUB XXXVI 98a: 10' (MS C2).

KBo XVII 1+ III 12-13 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 30-31),
translit. Neu (1980a: 9)

- (370-OH) [(*ū* *ū*)⁵] ŠUKUK ZABAR] āppa ūrā pētumem "And the bronze spears we
carry up again."
(conn O la la V)
KBo XVII 1+ III 16 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 30-31),
translit. Neu (1980a: 9); see also Starke (1977: §57) and Neu (1983: 273)

If two local adverbs in -n are present in one sentence, one of them is in last position:

- (⇒332-OH) DAM¹¹² GUDU₁; *andam ūlunaš E-ri [šar] ū[ul]išaš per[an (aria)]*
The wife of the priest stands in the house of the god, in front of the
pillars"
(S la C | Attr} la V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 15 rev' 1V (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)

In pattern (2) the position of the local adverb is as a rule immediately before the verb. As will be described in more detail in § 5.4.2, the order local adverb verb can be interrupted by specific categories of words, among which negations, Adjuncts of Manner and Purpose. This explains the intrusion of *ti* in (234-OH), *pangarit* in (117-OH) and *zakkija* in (169-OH) cited on p. 164, 161 and 163.

5.4.2 The situation in Middle and New Hittite

The position of local adverbs in Middle and New Hittite is quite different from that in Old Hittite.¹¹³ A study of the sentences with the verbs in ch. 2-4 already gives a lot of information about the position of local adverbs in the sentence in Middle and New Hittite texts. In order to check and complete the picture, the sentence patterns found with these verbs have been compared with the position of the local adverb in a sample of Middle and Hittite texts. The Mayat letters in the edition by Alp (1991b) have been chosen to represent the situation in Middle Hittite.¹¹⁴ Four manuscripts of the Annals of King Muršili II edited by Götz (1933a) have been selected as a specimen of New-Hittite texts.¹¹⁵

No difference was found in the sentence patterns of Middle, New and late-New Hittite sentences with the verbs studied in ch. 2-4. The position of the local adverb in the sentence appears to be the same in these three phases of the language of the Empire period.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Cf. Boley (1985: 22-39).

¹¹⁴ The long known Mayat letter ABoT 65, ill. Götz (1944), has been added to the letters in Alp's edition. The other Mayat letters have been assigned in the CTH number of ABoT 65 (CTH 199).

¹¹⁵ KBo RI 4 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götz (1933a: 14-137), KBo IV 4 (CTH 61.115B) ibid. (108-142), KBo V II (61.117A) ibid. (146-162) and KBo II 5 (CTH 61.116) ibid. (180-95). Later additions and joins to these manuscripts have not been included in the sample.

¹¹⁶ Boley's remark that the Old Hittite sentence pattern (1) generally occurs in "the expressions familiar from OH" and that by the time of Suppiluliuma I this situation has changed, seems to be based on the fact that she also considers fronted local adverbs in first position as examples of this Old Hittite word order (1985: 22-39).

The same patterns of word order found in Old Hittite also occur in Middle and Late Hittite, but the distribution is entirely different. The order of frequency in Middle and New Hittite is:

(2) (S) (O) (C/O) la V

(3a) la(sel) (S) (O) (C) V or (3b) conn(sel) la (S) (O) (C) V

(1) (S) (O) ■ (C/O) V

Pattern (2) represents the dominant position of all local adverbs in the sentence in this period. There is no longer a difference in position between local adverbs in -a and -n. From a total of 198 complete or almost complete sentences with local adverbs in the Mušalet letters, 160 sentences show sentence pattern (2), i.e. 80.8%. In the sample from Muršili's Annals this word order occurs 161 times in a total of 183 sentences with local adverbs, which is 88%.¹²² The position of a local adverb immediately before the verb and following a Complement or Indirect Object was called "Mittelstellung" by Zuntz (1936:9).¹²³ See the following examples of sentence pattern 2:

(⇒275-MH) *nu = s̄si = kan*¹²⁴ GIDRU arba dāl "He takes the staff away from him."
(conn + cl₁, part O la V), § 4.2.2
IBuT I 36 I 24 (CTH 262) ed. Guterbock and van den Hout (1991: 6-7)

(⇒161-MH) *[mān*¹²⁵] *huluganui = ma EGIR-anda pānzi* "But, if they follow the cart."
(sub C + conn la V), § 3.2.11
IBuT I 36 III 48-49 (CTH 262) ed. Guterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28-29)

(⇒97-NH) *nīk iwa KUR*¹²⁶ *Tegaramma andan uyanim* "I came into the land of Tegaramma, § 3.2.2
(conn C la V)
KBo IV 4 III 19 (CTH 61.115B) ed. Götze (1933a: 124-125)

(⇒155-NH) *nu = ya kēdani : tarballi EGIR-an [p]aitten* "Pursue this subs(lute)." (conn + part C la V), § 3.2.10
KUB XXIV 5+ KUB IX 13 obv. 23'-24' (CTH 419.A) ed. Künmel (1967: 10-11)

(⇒116-lateNH) *nu = kam LÚ "U*¹²⁷ *Hakmišac katta paizzi* "The man of the Stormgod goes down from Hakmiš."
(conn + part § C la V), § 3.2.4
KUB XXV 23 left edge a2 (CTH 525.3) ed. Carter (1962: 163, 173)

122. See below ad pattern 3a and b.

123. Examples with nominal predicates, which have the same position in the sentence as verbal predicates, have been included in this calculation. For the clause final position of nominal predicates see Uraghi (1990: 28-29). For an example of a nominal predicate see (275-MH) cited on p. 169.

124. The fact that Mittelstellung is the dominant position for local adverbs in sentences with an explicit Complement or Indirect Object, explains why it is impossible to distinguish between the functions of preverb and postposition in Hittite on the basis of their position in the sentence.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

There appears to be no difference in the position of a local adverb in main and subordinate clauses. Compare, for instance, the word order in:

- (⇒ 18-MH) *namuna =sta =kkar si KUR ^{UW} Hatti kuies^{LUMES} p̄lttejanteš anda ija[n]tai*
 "Then, the refugees from the country of Hatti, who went (in) to you."
 (conn = cl, = part S [a] V), § 2.2.1
 KUB XIV 1+ rev. 34 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 28–29)

- (371-NH) *nu = mu MUNUS MEŠ knit GIR.MEŠ-aš GAM-an hālijer* "Because the
 women fell down to my feet."
 (conn = cl, S sub C [a] V)
 KBo III 4 III 16 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Gotze (1933a: 70–71)

The fact that dependent local adverbs are placed in Mittelstellung can be explained as a reflection of their double function: They belong first of all to the predicate, but as a part of the predicate they are also connected with the preceding Complement or Indirect Object, which is governed by the predicate and the local adverb operating as a unity.

The position of independent local adverbs seems to be less fixed. They are predominantly found in last position, but can also be placed in other positions in the sentence, in most cases following any overt Complement or Attribute that they may govern. Examples of independent local adverbs in last position:

- (⇒ 45-MH) *GAL LÜ.MEŠ.SUKUR =ja =šmas NIMGIK ÉRIN MEŠ =ja katti =šmi qanta*
 "Both a chief of spearmen and an army bailiff march with them."
 (S = cl_[a] {In = cl_[a]} V), § 2.3.2
 IBoT I 36 II 50 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 20–21)

- (⇒ 52-lateNH) *^{UW}SANGAGIBIL MUNUS SH^U h̄azqura =ja ANA DUUEGIR-an ija <n>stari* "The
 new priest and the h̄azqura-women walk behind the sheep."
 (S {C [a]} V), § 2.2.5
 KUB XVII 35 I 25' (CTH 525.2) ed. Caster (1962: 124, 138)

- (372-NH) *nu = mu skan INA ^{UW} Sapidduya A ŠA kueri andan lukat* "It dawned for
 me in Šapidduya, in the field (and) land."
 (conn = cl, = part A {C [a]} V)
 KBo V 8 III 22 (CTH 61.317A) ed. Gotze (1933a: 158–159)

- (⇒ 48-NS) *nu = Šti "Impaluri[(i) peran [i]hattat"]* "and Impaluri went in front of
 him."
 (conn = cl_[a] S {In} V), § 2.3.3.
 IBoB XXXIII 102 II 18 (CTH 345.1C) ed. Götterbock (1951: 150–151)

The following examples from the Indictment of Madduqatta show that independent local adverbs are not bound to the last position of the sentence:

Chapter 5

- (373-MH) ("Because they had [o]ug[hi] on behalf of Madduyatta.") *[ma]n=kan
šēr ANA "Madduyatta kuenir* "they could have been killed on behalf of
Madduyatta."¹³⁹
(mod = part {la C} V)
KUB XIV 1+ obv. 59 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 14–15)
- (374-MH) *mān UI=ma [ma]n=ša[ma]š kasti peran UR.GI..[HI.A] karēper*
"Otherwise dogs would have devoured you because of hunger."
(sub neg = conn mod = clo {C la} S V)
KUB XIV 1+ obv. 11 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 4–5)

The fact that independent local adverbs so often occur in last position is remarkable and needs further study.¹⁴⁰ It would be interesting to see how many examples can be explained by the fact that in Hittite Adjuncts of Manner, Purpose and Accompaniment or Instrument tend to take last position, a function which is often held by independent local adverbs.¹⁴¹ The practical point that no other unmarked position is available in the sentence may be of influence too.

Independent local adverbs as a rule follow the Complement they govern; see (52-lateNB) and (372-NH). If the Complement is fronted, the local adverb moves along away from the verb:

- (⇒50-MH) ANA ¹⁴²*huluganni =ma =m EGIR-pa IJKU ijanta* "But they march one IJKU
behind the cart."
({A} = conn = cl, {la} A V), § 2.3.4
EBoT 136 II 38 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18–19)

As explained in § 5.3.1, local adverbs can be fronted so that they occur in clause initial or first position:

- (3a) lu(=cl) (S) (O) (C) V or (3b) conn(=cl) la (S) (O) (C) V

Examples are:

- (⇒22-MH) ("The countries that were your suppliers of thick breads, libations and tribute, O gods of heaven.") *arha = kan* ¹⁴³*MES SANGA MINUS MES AMA.*
DINGIR (...) kuē[z] ijantat "out of which priests (...) have come forth.
(from these (countries) they carried away the tribute and ritual paraphernalia ~~in~~ the gods."¹⁴⁴)"

¹³⁹ Here Götze's translation has been followed. In the CHD (1.-N: 540) another possibility is suggested: "They wanted to kill (certain persons) on behalf of Madduyatta".

¹⁴⁰ In Homeric Greek, for instance, the situation is quite different: see § 5.5. A description of the position of independent local adverbs on the basis of a selection of texts is rather time consuming, since, as shown in ch. 2–4, the definition of a local adverb as dependent or independent of the predicate often requires a thorough study of the construction of the verb in question.

¹⁴¹ As shown on p. 173–174, this tendency is so strong that they may come between local adverb and verb.

¹⁴² DINGIR MES-š= a zkan argamanus h[aj]ggu zia kuēz arha peda-. Note that in these lines *arha* is in unmarked position, immediately before the verb *peda-* "to bring, to carry". In the following two sections, where the text continues with the relative pronoun *kuēz* "from which" and the combinations *arha peda-* "to bring away" ~~in~~ (§ 4–17) and *arha muna-* "to drive away" (II 18–19), *arha* is also in unmarked, last position.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

(la = part S C V), § 2.2.2

KUB XVII 21+ II 8-13 (CTH 375.1A) ed. von Schuler (1965: 154-155)

- (375-MH) { *katti-ti hūman* SIG, ēšdu "May everything be fine with you."
 { {la = cl.} S Pred copula
 HKM 27: 20 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 168-169)

In my opinion, examples like (109-MH) below cannot be adduced to prove the persistence of Old Hittite word order pattern (1) in Middle Hittite texts, because the local adverb is in first position and may be placed there for pragmatic purposes:¹⁴¹

- (⇒ 109-MH) [n] = aš = za [arha] [i]NA KUR = ū pait "He went home to his own country."
 (conn = cl. = part Ia C V), § 3.2.3
 KUB XIV 1+ obv. 65 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 16-17)

Compare also the alternation in word order in the same expression occurring at the end of the description of the sixth year and the ninth year in KBo III 4:

- (376-NH) *namma EGIR-pa* ¹⁴² KÜ.BABBAR-ši *uyanan* "Then, back I came to Hattusa."
 (conn Ia C V)
 KBo III 4 III 66 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 80-81)
- (377-NH) *namma* ¹⁴³ KÜ.BABBAR-ši *EGIR-pa uyanan* "Then I came back to Hattusa."
 (conn C Ia V)
 KBo III 4 IV 33 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 130-131)

The variation in the position of *appa* in two instances of the same expression in one text may well indicate a difference in emphasis, similar to that in the English sentences "Then, back I came to Hattusa." and "Then I came back to Hattusa."

Boley (1985: 8, 33) noted two instances where both the local adverb and the verb are fronted:

- (378-OH+) *hāšta* ¹⁴⁴ NI.DUH VII ¹⁴⁵IG *appa huitijat* VII ¹⁴⁵hattulu "The gatekeeper opened the seven doors. He drew back the seven bars."
 (V S O) + (la V O)
 KUB XVII 10 IV 11 (CTH 324.1A) transl. Laroche (1965: 97) transl. Hoffner (1990: 17)
- (379-NS) *EGIR-an suyandumar* "Push (it) behind (you)"¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Luraghi (1990: 84, 88-90) showed that clause initial and first position are both marked positions in the word order. In Boley's article, instances like (109-MH) are now referred to as examples of the Old Hittite sentence pattern (1) and then considered as cases with a marked position of the local adverb (1985: 22 ad ex. 40-41 and 23 ad ex. 48).

¹⁴² Later on in this same text the active form is used: *sunef-sma-sut EGIR-an-d(a)l(u)waten* KUB XLI 8 IV 26-27 (MS C). See Neu (1968a: 160) and Oettinger (1979: 297 n. 76).

(la V)

KBo X 45 IV 1 (CTH 446.B) ed. Otten (1961: 134–135)

The last instance is not a good example. The sentence is so short that no other position is available for the local adverb. Here the first position is also the last position of the sentence.

Occasionally one still finds word order (b). Example (96-OH+) shows that this word order is no longer restricted to local adverbs in -a, but also found with local adverbs in -i:

- (⇒ 153-NS) *ni LUGAL-iš EGIR-pa ištu E-iškur paizzi* "The king goes back from the temple of the Stormgod."
 (conn S la C V), § 3.2.9.
 KUB XII 12 V 22 (CTH 628) ed. Wegner and Salvini (1991: 149, 151)
- (⇒ 96-OH+) *mān = mu LUGAL andan parna uizzi* "But when the king enters the house."
 (sub + conn S la C V), § 3.2.2.
 KUB XXIX 11 50 (CTH 414.A) ed. Kellerman (1980: 12, 27)
- (⇒ 142-NH) *kuiččima NAM.RA.HI A patū iša*¹³⁵ "Puranda pātū" "Other deportees went on to Puranda."
 (S + conn la C V), § 3.2.8
 KBo III 4 II 34–35 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 52–53)

In examples where the local adverb belongs to a predicate that governs both an expression of Origin and an expression of Direction, the Origin always precedes the Direction:¹³⁶

(4) (S) (O) C=Origin la C=Direction V

See, for example:

- (⇒ 154-NH) *namma¹³⁷ Palhuiščač EGIR-pa iša¹³⁸ KÜBABBAR-ši ugamun* "Then I came back from Palhuišča to Hattusa."
 (conn C=Origin la C=Direction V), § 3.2.9
 KBo III 4 II 7 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 44–45)

If a sentence contains two local adverbs, they usually are found in last position immediately following each other. This is not only the case when the two local adverbs form a unity, dependent or independent of the predicate, but also when the local adverbs have a separate function in the sentence. Examples with a unity of two local adverbs are:

- (⇒ 186-MH) *ana¹³⁹ MESEDUȚI-ma-za-kun peran urba uizzi* "He passes in front of the guards."
 (C=conn = cl, = part la+la V), § 3.2.18
 IBoT 136 III 25–26 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24–25)

¹³⁵ The same has been observed for Old Hittite; see § 5.4.1.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

- (⇒201-lateNH) *n=at=jūdūk ANA ē Halki perun parū paizzi* "He immediately goes in advance to the temple ~~if~~ Halki."
(conn = cl_s A C {lat+la} V), § 3.2.5.
KUB XLII 100 IV 36'-37' (CTH 525) ed. del Monte (1978: 185, 188)

As examples of two local adverbs with separate functions can ■ mentioned:

- (⇒199-NH) [*n=at=kan ANA "H(ūd)jupijanza šer arha pār* "They went away for the sake of Hudupianza."
(conn = cl_s = part (C ■) ■ V), § 3.3.3
KBn XVI 6 III 6-7 (CTH 61.II5E) ed. CHD (P/I: 30)
- (⇒319-NH) *n=at=kan 1-ai 1-edani kumanna EGIR-an jarū lē dāi* "Neither shall undertake to kill them (=the free men) behind the back of the other."
(conn = cl_(o) = part S {C}O {la} la neg V), § 4.2.5.
KBo V 4 rev 13 (CTH 67) ■ Friedrich (1926: 60-63)

In cases of fronting there is a difference between local adverbs belonging together and independent ones. In the first case both local adverbs are fronted and in the latter case only one of the two. The fact that with two local adverbs in initial position the enclitics are appended to the second local adverb, was already mentioned as an indication of their unity ("Univerbierung") by Kammehuber (1974: 153). Compare the following examples:

- (⇒188-MH) *EGIR-an(-)arha=at=kan paizzi* "He passes behind (him)." (In+In+cl_s = part V), § 3.2.19
IB6T I 36 (II 33 (CTH 262) ed. Götterbock and van den Hout (1991: 26-27)
- (⇒232-NS) *n=ai EGIR-po EN-a=šši kattan pāt* "He went back (or: again) into the presence of his lord."
(conn = cl_s la C la V), § 3.4.8
KUB XXXVI 74 III 6'-7' (CTH 347.2) ■ Siegelová (1970: 136)

See also the list of examples cited by Kammehuber (1974: 153-156).

In the rare cases where two constructions are governed by one verb and two local adverbs occur in the sentence each belonging to a different construction of the verb, the Complements and local adverbs can be in a parallel or in a chiastic order in front of the verb:

(5a) (S) (O) C la C la V or (5b) (S) (O) C la la C V

See, for example:

- (⇒194-NH) *nu=kan "RU Piqainarišac arha ⑩ Aštigurqa undan paizzi* "Will he go away from Piqainariša into Aštigurqa?"
(conn = part C ■ C la V), § 3.2.22
KUB V 11 54 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 40-41)

Chapter 5

- (⇒ 195-NH) ¹¹*UTU^{b1} =kan^{b2} Neriqaz arha EGIR-pa^{b3} Hakmiš uizz* "Will His Majesty come away from Nerik back to Hakmiš?"
 (S = part C la la C V), § 3.2.23
 KUB V 1 II 45 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 58–59)

When three local adverbs occur in one sentence, one of them is separated from the others or they all follow each other:

- (⇒ 202-NS1) *nu =kan perun parū^{c1} ALAM.ZU₁₀^{c2} palyatallaſ^{c3} kītaſſ-a anda pānzi* "The ALAM.ZU-man, the palyatalla-man and the kīta-man go in beforehand."
 (conn = part {la la} S la V), § 3.3.3
 KBo JV 9 II 2–5 (CTH 604.1A) ed. Badali and Zinke (1994: 26–27)

- (⇒ 240-NH) ^{d1}*Tani<zila>- andan^{d2} Ziqaſallaza EGIR UGU [paiz]zi* "Shall he (=his Majesty) go up into Tanizila from behind Ziqaſalla?"
 (C la C la la V), § 3.4.9^{d3}
 KUB V 1 left edge a: 1–2 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 92–93)

- (⇒ 230-NS') *lukkatti =nta iD-an EGIR-pa GAM uizz^{e1} l̄aušurija andan* "The next morning ~~he~~ comes down the river again (or: back) into l̄aušurija."
 (A = conn O la la V C la), § 3.4.8
 KUB XL 106 obv. II' 7'–9' (CTH 562.2B) ed. Klengel (1963: 15–16)

- (380-NH) *n-aſſ =nu =kan uit ina^{f1} Qappuppuya =par ḪUR.SAG-i ūr parū menah̄yanda tijet* "And it happened that in that very Kappuppuya, up in the mountain, he (=the enemy) stepped forward to meet me."
 (conn = cl₃ = part V^{f2} A {C la} la la V)
 KBo V 8 I 33–35 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götz (1933a: 150–151)

Note that in (230-NS) the third local adverb and the Complement are placed behind the verb. This position is highly exceptional for a local adverb. There is one comparable instance in a Magaš letter:

- (381-MH) *BE.LU man =ya ūnnatti kai[š]an* "O lord, may you drive down."
 (ill mod = part V la)
 HKM 71: 4 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 254–255)

According to Luroghi (1990: 21–22) post-verbal constituents in Middle and New Hittite texts are amplifications, that is optional constituents which are appositional to a constituent in the predication or to the predication as a whole. This may be the case in (230-NS), where the second construction ^{f1}*l̄aušurija andan uizz* can be considered appositional to the first construction (iD-an (EGIR-pa) GAM uizz).^{f2} In (381-MH) we

^{f1} This is another example of sentence pattern (5a).

^{f2} This is an instance of phraseological *wā-* introducing the main verb *tijet*.

^{f3} The function of *appa* is not clear, see § 3.4.8.

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

seem to be dealing with a kind of inversion of the local adverb, comparable to that of negations, relative pronouns and obligatory constituents of the sentence described by Luraghi (1990: 20–21).

It has long been observed that the sequence local adverb verb (la V) in sentence pattern (2) can be interrupted by a negation, which is usually placed before the verb.¹⁴⁹ There are also certain types of Adjuncts that may come between the local adverb and the verb. These are the kinds of Adjuncts that, according to Luraghi (1990: 44–45), tend to follow the obligatory constituents of the sentence and regularly appear in last position, namely Adjuncts of Manner, Purpose and Accompaniment. Apparently, the tendency of these constituents to be placed before the verb is stronger than the need to keep the local adverb and the verb together. See the following examples:

- (⇒27-NH) *nu=kon¹⁵⁰ UKU US¹⁵¹ KARTAPPU=s ja ŠA LÜ MES¹⁵² urt Kaiga URU-ri šard lē ijanuri* "A heavily armed soldier and a charioteer of the Kaškaeans may not walk up to the city."
 (conn = part S C la neg V), § 2.2.6
 KUB XXI 29 II 6-8 (CTH 89.A) transl. von Scheler (1965: 146)
- (⇒273-MH+) *aruhzenuis3 su=konunturijsk=nana AN ZA GARGIS¹⁵³ zuppari andu lē kuiš[k]j dāi* "Let no one take (fire)wood (or) a torch into both outer and inner towers."
 (C = conn = part O la S+neg V), § 4.2.1
 KUB XXXII 66+ 1203/u II 27'–27' (CTH 261.2) ed. von Scheler (1957: 43–44) and Otten (1971: 46)
- (⇒17-MH) *n=asita¹⁵⁴ KUR QALIMA kuit KUR=e anda lummar lummar iattar[i]*
 "Because the enemy likewise constantly marches into the country."
 (conn = part S A sub C la A=Manner V), § 2.2.1¹⁵⁵
 HKM 8: 18–14 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 132–133)
- (⇒170-NS) *kuyut=ga ē-ri IGT-anda ka[r]tumuij]auwanza uit* "Why have you come against my house in anger?"
 (inter = part C la A=Manner V), § 3.2.13
 KUB XXXIII 102 II 7-8 (CTH 345.1C) ed. Giltebock (1951: 148–149)
- (382-MH) *amruig=ə=kan ŠA KASKAL GI.DA¹⁵⁶ LUMES XET¹⁵⁷ HUKSA¹⁵⁸ Hapidduni anda Šašanna pējškimi* "I will send spies of the long stretch into Mount Hapidduni to sleep (there)."
 (S = conn = part O C la A=Purpose¹⁵⁹ V)
 HKM 46: 18–21 (CTH 199) ■ Alp (1991b: 202–203)

¹⁴⁹ This also applies for combinations of negations and indefinite pronouns or adverbs in -ki or -ka; see Zuntz (1936: 112–113), Friedrich (HE § 281), Hoffner (1983: 86–89) and Luraghi (1990: 30–31).

¹⁵⁰ An Old Hittite example with an Adjunct of manner in last position is (117-OH) cited in § 5.2, p. 161.

¹⁵¹ The infinitive *lusanna* "to sleep" is used here as an Adjunct of Purpose. The same position of the Purpose expression is found in (169-OH), cited in § 5.4.1.

Chapter 5

- (⇒ 173-NH) *kuiēl = ma = kan NAM.RA.MEŠ aruni parranda irrrith Ulhaz-LU pair* "Other deportees went across the sea with Ulhaziti."
 (S = conn = part C la A = Accompaniment V), § 3.2.1.4
 KBo III 4 II 36 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 52–53)

Examples in which other constituents are placed between the local adverb and the verb are very rare and in our sample restricted to two instances in the Mašal letters.¹⁵² One very clear example, (3-MH+), has already been cited in § 1.1.1 in the discussion of Goetze's 1963 article, in which he called attention to the fact that the nexus between local adverb and verb can be interrupted by the insertion of a Subject:

- (⇒ 3-MH+) *ki = ma = kan nuppi ANA "UTU^{SI}" KA×U-az parā ^{mciS}OLDRU.DINGIR^{LM}-is anija* "Hattušiliš wrote down this tablet from the mouth of His Majesty."
 (O = conn = part C C ■ S V), § 1.1.1
 KUB XV ■ IV 38'–40' (CTH 484.1A) ed. Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 170–171)¹⁵³

The construction with an expression of Origin and the presence of the particle *-kan* seem to be the result of the addition of *parā* to *anija*, which in this use with *parā* has the meaning "to write down from" and requires the presence of an expression of Origin, in this case one in the dative and one in the ablative in partitive apposition, and the particle *-kan*.¹⁵⁴ If we compare this instance with the word order in the other two instances of the expression ANA "UTU-SI KA×U-az parā anija" that were cited in § 1.1.1, it seems likely that in (3-MH+) the Subject Hattušiliš is placed between the local adverb and the verb in order to give it special emphasis:

- (⇒ 4-MH) ANA "UTU^{SI} z[i]as=at=skan INA ¹⁵¹Zithara INA BURU₁₄ KA×U-az parā anijagen "and from His Majesty's mouth we wrote it down in the city Zithara, in harvest time."
 (C = conn = cl₂ = part A A C la V), § 1.1.1
 KUB XXIX 8 IV 38–39 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 100)
- (⇒ 5-MH) [ANA "UTU^{SI} z[i]as=at=kan KA×U-az INA ¹⁵¹Zi[thar]a [INA BU■■■₁₄] p]arā anijagen "and from the mouth of His Majesty we wrote it down in the city Zithara, in harvest time."
 (C = conn = cl₂ = part C A A la V), § 1.1.1
 KBo XXIII 6+ FHG 20 (IV) 9–10 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 65)

In these two instances the local adverb is in its usual position before the verb, but now other constituents than the Subject are emphasized, namely the Complement ANA "UTU-SI" in (4-MH) and the two Complements ANA "UTU-SI" and KA×U-az in (5-MH).

¹⁵² Namely HKM 38: 3–7 and HKM 70: 5–7.

¹⁵³ See Zuntz (1936: 60): "der Sonne aus der Nässe heraus, nach dem Diktat der Sonne". Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 170–171) translated "auf Befehl", but add the remark that "nach Diktat" is also possible (ib. 179).

¹⁵⁴ When the basic predicate *anija-* is used with the meaning "to draw up, to copy", it is only accompanied by the accusative *nuppi* and occurs without *-kan*. See Kammerhuber (HW², A: 81–88) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. I: 66–69).

If a local adverb belongs to a verb form, which is not the main verb of the sentence, the local adverb precedes the verb to which it belongs. In the following example *anda* precedes the participle *daruppantet*, which is the Attribute of ERIN.MEŠ:

- (383-MH) *nu ERIN.MEŠ anda daruppantet ANŠE.KUR.RA.HI.A = (a = smaš = km) kuiš anda* "With the troops that are gathered in (that place) also the chario-teers that are in (that place) with you, (lead them quickly to his Majesty, in three days.)"
HKM 15: 6-9 (CTH 199) ed. Aip (1991b: 140-141)

With nouns or participles derived from verbs that form a fixed combination with a particular local adverb, the local adverb, of course, precedes the noun or participle to which it belongs:

- (384-NH) *nu-za "U NIGAL EN-s/a parā handauditar tekkušanut* "Then the mighty Stormgod, My Lord, manifested his divine guidance."
KBo 12I 4 II 16 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götz (1933a: 46-47).

In conclusion it can be remarked that there is no one to one relationship between the function of a local adverb and its position in the sentence in Hittite. The fact that in Hittite independent local adverbs can be placed in front of the verb, almost excludes the possibility to draw conclusions about the function of a local adverb from its position in the sentence, with the exception that in sentences where the local adverb is placed away from the verb in an unmarked position, the chances are high that it is an independent local adverb.

5.5 A comparable problem in Homeric Greek

The problem of the function of the local adverbs in Hittite can be compared with that of the "particles" in Homeric Greek, which traditionally are likewise divided into preverbs, prepositions and independent adverbs.¹⁵³ This view is found in Chantre's *Grammaire Homérique* (1953: 82-86) and standard grammars like Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950: 419-436). The variety of usage is explained as the result of a process of change in the function of the particles, which is still in progress in Homeric Greek. They originally functioned as independent adverbs (example 1 below). In some cases a connection developed between the verb and the adverb, whereby the adverb was still separated from the verb ("in imesis"), but had a bearing on the meaning of the verb (example 2). This development ultimately led to the forming of compound verbs (example 3). In other cases adverbs developed a close tie with nominal forms inflected in a particular case and so ultimately became prepositions (example 4).¹⁵⁴ See the following examples:¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Following Horrocks (1981) the general term particle will be employed to refer to this category of words rather than "preposition", which designates a specific syntactic function of these particles.

¹⁵⁴ See the description of the traditional view by Horrocks (1981: 5-13).

¹⁵⁵ The Greek examples are cited from Chantre (1953: 82-86) and Horrocks (1981: 7-9). The English translations are from A.T. Murray in the Loeb Classical Library (1924, 1928, 1929) Cambridge, Massachusetts, London.

Chapter 5

- (1) γέλασσε δέ πάσαι περὶ χθίων / γαλοκού ὑπὸ στεφοτῆς "and all the earth round about laughed by reason of the flashing of the bronze."
Iliad T 362–363
- (2) νήπιοι, οἱ κατά βόὺς Υπερίονος Ηελίοιο ἡσθοῦ "fools, who devoured the kine of Helios Hyperion."
Odyssey a 8–9
- (3) γέστρην μὲν τρικοδος πέρ φραγέτε "Then the fire played about the belly of the cauldron."
Iliad Σ 348
- (4) Ἀργαῖοι, οἵ δὴ ἔθεν ἐνέκα ποιλύν εφ' ὄχριν / ἕλυθον τε Τροῖην πόλεμον θρασύν ὀρμαίνοντες "Argives who for his sake had come to Troy over the wide waters of the sea, pondering in their hearts fierce war."
Iliad K 27–28

Chantrelle (1953: 84) already observed that in many cases the choice between adverb, preverb and preposition is hard to make. Often more than one of the categories seem to apply to the particle in question. The assignment of the categories adverb, preverb and preposition, in other words, appeared to be as problematic as that of adverb, preverb and postposition in Hittite (§ 1.1.1).

The problem of the function of the particle was readressed by Horrocks in the first chapter of a study devoted to the prepositional and adverbial particles in the Greek epic (1981: 5–89). Horrocks searched for new criteria to describe the syntactic role of the particles more adequately. On the basis of seven criteria, Horrocks distinguished five types of "particle-verb" combinations, one category of independent or "extra-nuclear" use in which the particle is completely optional and four types of dependent or "nuclear" use showing various degrees of cohesion between the particle and the predicate (1981: 29–46). The main tool to distinguish between extra-nuclear and nuclear use is the *omissibility* of a particle. If a particle can be omitted leaving the predicate in the same sense and the predication otherwise syntactically complete, the particle is considered as an optional Adjunct (1981: 29–30). The same criterion is employed in our description of the simple verbs in ch. 2–4 to distinguish between dependent and independent use of a local adverb from the predicate. Another characteristic of independent particles is that they are never placed immediately before the verb. In the first of the four dependent combinations, the so-called "nuclear adverb phrase", the choice of the particle to be used with the predicate is rather free.¹⁵⁸ Then follow the categories of "prepositional" and "phrasal verbs", where the particle forms a semantic unity with the predicate. With these verbs the choice of the particle is idiosyncratic to a particular predicate, but the particle can still be separated from the verb.¹⁵⁹ The last category is that of true

¹⁵⁸ According to Horrocks (1981: 18–20), Homeric Greek did not yet have fully developed prepositional phrases, since the use of the particle in inflected nominal expressions in adverbial function is still optional, which is reflected in the fact that the particle may be separated from the noun phrase whose ending it modifies.

¹⁵⁹ The criterion applied by Horrocks to decide between prepositional and phrasal verbs in Greek is the fact that only in the first case the particle is "prepositional (actually or implicitly qualifying a case ending)": see

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

compounds, where particle and verb are inseparably conjoined and form a semantic and syntactic unity (1981: 29–46). Horrocks's distinction between free combinations of particle and verb ("nuclear adverb phrases") on the one hand and the categories of phrasal and prepositional verbs on the other is based on the description of the situation in English by Quirk et al. (1972, revised and expanded edition 1985: 1150–1168). With free combinations the particle can be easily substituted by a number of other particles. In the English combination *go up*, the particle *up* can, for instance, be replaced by *down*, *into*, *out*, *past* etc. without disturbing the correctness of the sentence. Another feature of free combinations is that the verb and the particle have distinct meanings. Phrasal verbs are lexical verbs consisting of a simple verb combined with one or more particles. With phrasal verbs the meaning of the whole is typically unpredictable from the meanings of the verb and particle in isolation. A prepositional verb is defined by Quirk et al. (1985: 1155) as a lexical verb followed by a preposition with which it is semantically or syntactically associated. Phrasal verbs are distinguished from prepositional verbs by a series of mainly syntactical criteria. The first feature cited by Quirk et al. (1985: 1167) is the fact that with prepositional verbs the particle must precede the noun phrase following the verb, while with phrasal verbs it can stand either before or after this noun phrase. This is illustrated by the following sentences with the prepositional verb *call on* and the phrasal verb *call up*:

(5a) They *called on* the dean. (5b) *They *called the dean on*.

(6a) They *called up* the dean. (6b) They *called the dean up*.

As remarked above, the situation with the prepositions in Homeric Greek clearly resembles that of the local adverbs in Hittite. There are, however, also important differences. In Homeric Greek, for instance, the end of the development of an intimate connection between particle and predicate is clearly visible. Both in Homeric and in classical Greek true compounds exist, in which preverb and verb are written together and function as a semantic and syntactic unity. The rules for word order are also different in Hittite. The Hittite local adverbs follow instead of precede the inflected noun phrase whose ending they modify in case of independent use, or which is governed by the local adverb and the verb in case of dependent use. In Greek extra-nuclear particles are never placed immediately before the verb. As shown in § 5.4.1 and 5.4.2, independent local adverbs often precede the verb, although they may occur elsewhere in the sentence. This makes it more difficult to distinguish between dependent and independent use in Hittite.

In Horrocks's view, particles that are combined with motion verbs like *βαλω*, and *ἔργον* function as nuclear adverb phrases, that is as Complements of the predicate, but they do not yet form a semantic unity with it.¹⁶¹ In the same way the verb *go up* was considered as a free combination of particle and verb in English by Quirk et al. (1985); see above. Horrocks's main criterion is the fact that these verbs can be combined with a large number of particles; see above.

Horrocks (1981: 27–30). See also the situation in English described below.

¹⁶¹ In classical Greek on the other hand, large numbers of true compound nouns are formed with these verbs like *κνοῖσθαι*, *ισθίσθαι*, *τρέπεσθαι*, *τρέπεσθησθαι*, *κατέπεσθαι* etc.

Here we have another important difference with the situation in Hittite. In ch. 2–3 it could be shown that dependent local adverbs can influence the construction of the motion verbs *iwa-*, *pai-* and *aya-* or affect the use of sentence particles with these verbs. This indicates that they form a semantic unity with the predicate, be it not a fixed idiomatic combination like that of phrasal or prepositional verbs. In § 5.3 we saw that there is also a group of Hittite verbs where local adverbs are used in a non-literal sense and which are quite particular in their choice of local adverbs. As in Homeric Greek and English, the combinations of local adverbs and this type of verbs can be described as phrasal verbs or fixed idiomatic combinations which do not yet form a syntactic unity, since the local adverb can be placed away from the verb in sentence initial or first position.¹⁶¹ As explained by Horrocks (1985: 38–41) one and the same verb, for instance the English verb *go*, can, when having a literal sense, form a free combination with various particles, which serve as its (prepositional phrase) Complement. If the verb *go* is used in a figurative sense, it can only be combined with the particle *into*, in which case the combination *go into* (=investigate) can be described as a prepositional verb. The same phenomenon can be observed with the verb *dā-* in Hittite, which in most combinations kept its literal meaning, although incidentally the meaning of the whole seems to surpass that of its constituent elements; see § 5.1.¹⁶²

In the nominal sphere there is evidence that local adverb and verb can form an inseparable unity in Hittite. There are, for instance, examples of compound nouns, which are derived from a combination of local adverb and verb, like *appa appatar* "withdrawal", *parā hand(=and)atar* "divine guidance", *parā handandant-* "rightly guided or guiding" and names of officials like ¹¹ *parduyant* "inspector", ¹⁴ *parāyatalla* "lookout".¹⁶³ Remarkable is also the sandhi form ¹⁴ *antiyant* "son-in-law", literally someone who entered, that is married into the family.¹⁶⁴ This word is also attested as ¹¹ *andaijandatar*¹⁶⁵ and ¹¹ *andatijattalla-*.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Boley (1985: 9, 33) cited two instances where both the local adverb and the verb are fronted; see (378–OH+) and (379–NS) cited in § 5.4.2. With regard to the first instance she remarked that this is an indication that local adverb and verb are considered a syntactic unit (1985: 9).

¹⁶² As mentioned in § 11.1, Boley already described the Hittite combination *appan de-* as a phrasal verb "with an extended meaning 'to stand behind, i.e. to support'."

¹⁶³ This type of compound nouns has been treated by Götterbock (1955: 63–64) and Hoffner (1966: 392–394). For *appa appatar* see Kammenhuber (HW², E:88) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. 2: 280). The compound nouns with *parā* are treated in the CHD (P/I–2: 110–111, 129–132).

¹⁶⁴ This noun can be analyzed as derived from *anda* + *iwa-*, as first suggested by Balkan, or as *anda tia-*, as proposed by Machek. See the surveys by Hoffner (1966: 393) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. 1: 78) with further references.

¹⁶⁵ This noun is only attested in the dative (¹¹) *an-da-i-ja-an-de-an-ni-ja-* in KUB XIII 8 obv. 14 (CTH 252, MH+).

¹⁶⁶ In HKM 10:47 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 136–137). See also Alp (1991b: 309).

Bibliography

- Allerton, D.J. 1982. *Valency and the English Verb*. London.
- Alp, S. 1947. "Military Instructions of the Hittite King Tutušija IV (?)" *Bulleten* 11, 383–414.
1979. "Das Hethitische Wort für 'Palast'", in Carruba, O. ed. *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, 17–25. Pavia.
1983. *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels. Kultanlagen im Lichte der Keilschrifttexte*. Ankara.
- 1991a. *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük*. Ankara.
- 1991b. *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*. Ankara.
- ANET = Pritchard, J.B. ed. 1963. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with suppl., Princeton.
- Archi, A. 1973. "L'Humanité des Hittites", in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, 37–48. Paris.
- Badali, E. and Chr. Zinko. 1994. *Der 16. Tag des AN.TAH.ŠUM-Festes. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Glossar*. 2., verbesserte Auflage unter Mitarbeit von M. Ofitsch (SCIENTIA 20). Graz.
- Beal, R. 1992. *The organisation of the Hittite Military* (Texte der Hethiter 20). Heidelberg.
- Beckman, G.M. 1982. "The Anatolian Myth 𒌩 illuyanks". *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 14, 12–25.
1983. *Hittite Birth Rituals*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 29). Wiesbaden.
1986. "Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in Hittite". *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, 19–30.
- Bechtel, G. 1936. *Hittite verbs in -sk- (A study of Verbal Aspect)*. Ann Arbor.
- Boley, J. 1985. "Notes on Hittite Place Word Syntax", *Hethitica* 6, 5–43.
1989. *The Sentence Particles and the Place Words in Old and Middle Hittite* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 60). Innsbruck.
1992. "The 'Local' Sentence Particles in Hittite" in Carruba, O. ed. *Per una grammatica ittita. Towards a Hittite Grammar* (Studia Mediterranea 7), 3–31. Pavia.
1993. *The Hittite Particle -z / -za* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 79). Innsbruck.
1994. "Further Thoughts on Language Change, as evidenced by Hittite", *Die Sprache* 36, 129–174.
- Bolkestein, A.M. 1977. Review of Happ, H. 1976. *Grundfragen einer Dependenzgrammatik des Lateinischen*. Göttingen. *Kratylos* 21, 137–146.
- Boysan-Dietrich, N. 1978. *Das hethitische Lehmbauhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen* (Texte der Hethiter 12). Heidelberg.
- Burde, C. 1974. *Hethitische medizinische Texte* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 19). Wiesbaden.
- Carruba, O. 1964. "Hethitisch -asta, -(a)pa und die anderen 'Ortsbezugspartikeln'". *Orientalia* 33, 1964, 405–436.

Bibliography

1969. *Die satzeinleitenden Partikeln in den indogermanischen Sprachen Anatoliens*, Roma.
1971. "Über historiographische und philologische Methoden in der Hethitologie", *Orientalia* 40, 208–223.
1977. "Beiträge zur mittelhethitischen Geschichte. Teil I. Die Tothalijas und die Arnuwandas, II. Die sogenannten 'protocoles de succession dynastique'", *Studia micenei et egeo-anatolici* III, 137–195.
1985. "Die anatolischen Partikel der Satzeinleitung", in *Grammatische Kategorien Funktion und Geschichte* (Akten der VII. Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Berlin 1983), 79–95.
1988. "Die Höjasa-Verträge Hattis" in Neu, E and Chr. Rüster eds. *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae: Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 59–75.
- Carruba, O., V. Souček and R. Sternemann. 1965. "Kleine Bemerkungen zur jüngsten Fassung der hethitischen Gesetze", *Archiv Orientalní* 33, 1–18.
- Carter, C.W. 1962. *Hittite Cult Inventories*, dissertation University of Chicago.
- Charraire, P. 1953. *Grammaire Homérique. Tome II. Syntaxe*, Paris.
- Ciantelli, M. 1978–1979. Treatment of the verb *du-* in Kammenhuber, A. *Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus*, 7 Nr. 6–8 Nr. 6, Heidelberg.
- CHD = Güterbock H.G and H.A. Hoffner eds. 1980ff. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago.
- Cotticelli-Kurras, P. 1995. "Hethitische Konstruktionen mit *verba dicendi* und *sentiendo*" in Carruba et al. eds. *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia* (Studia Mediterranea 9), Pavia, 87–100.
- Delaporte, L. 1929. *Eléments de la grammaire hittite*, Paris.
- Dik, S.C. 1978. *Functional Grammar*, Amsterdam.
1989. *The theory of Functional Grammar I: The Simple Predication*, Dordrecht.
- Dingol, A.M. 1985. "Ashella rituali (CTH 394)", *Bellatent* 49, 1–40.
- Disterheft, D. 1984. "Non-final verbs in Hittite", *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97, 221–227.
- Dunkel, G.E. 1985. "IE hostatory *dy, *éye: Ved. éta stávánu, Hill. ehu-sa-ii, Hom. à δι' ἔγε", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 46, 47–59.
- Fotter, E. 1922. "Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76, 174–269.
- Freydank, H. 1959–60. "Vertrag zwischen dem Hethiterkönig Suppiluliuma und Aziru von Amuru", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 7, 356–381.
- Friedrich, J. 1926. *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches. I* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 31), Leipzig.
- 1930a. *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches. II* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 34), Leipzig.
- 1930b. "Die hethitischen Bruchstücke des Gilgameš-Epos", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Neue Folge 5, 1–82.
1950. "Churratische Märchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 49, Neue Folge 15, 213–255.
1959. *Die Hethitischen Gesetze*, Leiden.

Bibliography

- Friedrich, HE = Friedrich, J. 1960. *Hethitisches Elementarbuch I*. Heidelberg.
HW = Friedrich, J. 1952–54. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg
HW 1., 2., 3. Erg. + J. Friedrich. 1957, 1961, 1966. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Ergänzungstheft 1–3*. Heidelberg.
- Garrett, A. "Hittite Enclitic Subjects and Transitive Verbs". *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 42, 227–242.
- Garstang, J. and O.R. Gurney. 1959. *The Geography of the Hittite Empires*. London.
- Götze, A. 1925. *Hatusiliš. Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexten* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 29. 3). Leipzig.
1927. *Mudduwattas* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 32.1). Leipzig.
1930a. "Die Pestgebete des Muršiliš". *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1, 161–251.
1930b. *Nette Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattusiliš und den Paralleltexten* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 34.2). Leipzig.
1933a. *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 38). Leipzig.
1933b. "Über die Partikeln -zu, -kan und -san der hethitischen Satzverbindung". *Archiv Orientalní* 1, 1–38.
- Götze, A. and H. Pedersen. 1934. *Muršiliš Sprachlähmung* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 21/1). Copenhagen.
- Götze, A. 1938. *The Hittite ritual of Tumawi*. New Haven.
1950. "The Hittite Particles -kan". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, 173–178.
1963. "Postposition and Preverb" in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 17, 98–101.
- Gonnel, H. 1975–76. "Rituel des Fêtes d'Automne et de Printemps du dieu de l'orage de Zippalanda, Anadolu (Anatolia)". *ANIL*, 123–162.
- Grélois, J.P. 1988. "Les années décennales de Mursili II (CTH 61. 1)". *Hethitica IX*, 17–144.
- Groddek, D. 1996. "Fragmenta Hethitica dispersa III". *Altorientalische Forschungen* 23, 101–110.
- Gurney, O.R. 1948. "Mita of Pahhuya". *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 28, 32–47.
1982. Review of Heinhold-Krahmer, S., I. Hoffmann, A. Kammerhuber and G. Mauer. *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie*. Heidelberg, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 77, 560–564.
- Güterbock, H.G. 1938. "Die historische Tradition bei Babylonier und Hethitem bis 1200". zweiter Teil: Hethiter. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Neue Folge 10, 45–145.
1943. Review of Friedrich, J. 1940. *Hethitisches Elementarbuch I*. Heidelberg, *Orientalia Nova Series* 12, 151–155.
1944. "Ein Hethitischer Brief aus Mašat bei Zile". *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* II 3, 390–405.
1951, 1952. "The Song of Ullikummi. Revised Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian myth". *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 5, 135–161 and 6, 8–42.
1955. "Zu einigen hethitischen Komposita" in Krahe, H. ed. *Corolla Linguistica*, Wiesbaden, 63–68.
1956. "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Muršili II". *Journal of*

Bibliography

- Cuneiform Studies* 10, 41–68, 75–98, 107–130.
1958. "The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78, 237–245.
1960. "An Outline of the Hittite AN.TAH.SUM Festival", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19, 80–89.
1978. "Some Aspects of Hittite Prayers" in *Frontiers of Human Knowledge* (Acta Univ. Upsaliensis, Uppsala), 125–139.
1980. "An addition to the prayer of Muršili to the sun-goddess", *Anatolian Studies* 30, 41–50.
1983. "Noch einmal die Formel *pamašea suwaizz*". *Orientalia Nova Series* 52, 73–80.
1988. "Bilingual Moon Omens from Boğazköy", in Leichty, E. et al. eds. 1988. *A Scientific Humanist. Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*. Philadelphia, 161–173.
1989. "Hittite *kurša* 'Hunting bag'", in *Essays in Ancient Civilization presented to Helene J. Kammer* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 47), Chicago, 133–119.
1991. = Güterbock, H.G. and Th.P.J. van den Hout. 1991. *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*. (Assyriological Studies 24), Chicago.
- Güterbock, H.G. and Th.P.J. van den Hout. 1991. *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*. (Assyriological Studies 24). Chicago.
- Hans V. 1970. *Der Kult von Nerik. Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Roma.
1984. *Die Serien itkahi und itkalzi des AZU-Priesters. Rituale für Tašmišorri und Tatuhepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tašmišorri* (Corpus der hethitischen Sprachdenkmäler I / 1), Roma.
- Hans V. and H. Thiel. 1978. *Die Beschwörungsrituale der Altaiturah(h)i und verwandte Texte* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 31), Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Hans V. and I. Wegner. 1988a. *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen* (Corpus der hethitischen Sprachdenkmäler I / 5), Teil 1: Die Texte, Roma.
- 1988b. *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen* (Corpus der hethitischen Sprachdenkmäler I / 5), Teil II: Das Glossar, Roma.
- Hans V. and G. Wilhelm. 1974. *Hethitische und Luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Sonderreihe 3), Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Hagenbuchner, A. 1989. *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2. Teil (Texte der Hethiter 16), Heidelberg.
- Happ, H. 1976. *Grundfragen einer Dependenzgrammatik des Lateinischen*, Göttingen.
- Heinhold-Krahmer, S. 1986 "Untersuchungen zu Pijamardu (Teil II)", *Orientalia* 55, 47–62.
1992. "Zu hethitisch *tapušu* und seinem Vorkommen in Texten über den Hepat- und Teşšup-Kult" in H. Otten et al. (ed.), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara, 277–287.
- Heibig, G. and W. Schenkel. 1973. *Wörterbuch zur Valenz und Distribution deutscher Verben*, 2nd. ed. Leipzig. (1st edition. 1969).
- Hoffman, I. 1979. = Heinhold-Krahmer, S., L. Hoffmann, A. Kammenhuber and G. Mauer. *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie* (Texte der Hethiter 9), Heidelberg.
1984. *Der Erlass Telepinus* (Texte der Hethiter 11), Heidelberg.

Bibliography

1990. "Die Schlange im Bett. Anlässe für Rituale bei den Hethiten". *Altorientalische Forschungen* 17, 186–188.
- Hoffner, H.A. Jr. 1963. *The Laws of the Hittites*. dissertation Brandeis University. Waltham.
1966. "Composite Nouns. Verbs and Adjectives in Hittite". *Orientalia* 35, 377–402.
1969. "On the Use of Hittite -za in Nominal Sentences". *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 28, 225–230.
1972. Review of Houwink ten Cate, Ph.H.J. 1970. *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (C. 1450–1380 B.C.)*. Leiden. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31, 29–35.
- 1973a. "Studies of the Hittite Particles, I", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, 520–526.
- 1973b. "The Hittite Particle -pat" in Neu, E. and Chr. Rüster eds. *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, Wiesbaden, 99–117.
1974. *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (American Oriental Series 55), New Haven.
1982. "Hittite man and māman" in *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativa. Gedenkschrift Heinz Kronasser*, 38–45.
1986. "Studies in Hittite Grammar", in Hoffner, H. et al. eds. *Kanillügar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday May 27, 1981* (Assyriological Studies 23). Chicago, 83–94.
1987. "Paskuwatti's ritual against sexual impotence (CTH 406)". *Adu Orientalis* 5, 271–287.
1990. *Hittite Myths* (Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World Vol. 2), Atlanta.
- 1992a. "Studies in the Hittite particles, II. On some use of -kan" in Carruba, O. ed. *Per una grammatica ittita. Towards a Hittite Grammar* (Studia Mediterranea 7), Pavia, 139–149.
- 1992b. "Advice to a King" in H. Otten et al. ed. *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara, 295–304.
- 1995a. "Hittite Laws" in Roth, M.T. ed. *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Society of Biblical Literature. Writings from the Ancient World Vol. 6), Atlanta, 213–247.
- 1995b. "About Questions" in Th. P. J. van den Hout et al. eds. *Studia Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Istanbul, 87–104.
- Horrocks, G.C. 1981. *Space and Time in Homer. Prepositional and Adverbial Particles in the Greek Epic*, New York.
- Hout, Th.P.J. van den. 1989. *Studien zum Spätjung'hethitischen: Texte der Zeit Turhalijas IV. KBo IV 10+ (CTH 106)*, dissertation Universiteit van Amsterdam.
1990. Review of Archi, A. 1987. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy. Heft LVII: Hethitische Briefe und Texte Verschiedenen Inhalts*. Berlin. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 47, 424–431.
1992. "Remarks on some Hittite Double Accusative Constructions" in Carruba, O. ed. *Per una grammatica ittita. Towards a Hittite Grammar* (Studia Mediterranea 7), Pavia, 275–304.
1994. "Träume einer hethitischen Königin: KUB LX 97 + 'XXXI 71'". *Altorientalische Forschungen* 21.2, 305–327.

Bibliography

1995. *Der Ulmitesch-Vertrag. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 38). Wiesbaden.
- Houwink ten Cate, Ph.H.J. 1966. "Mursilis' Northwestern Campaigns - Additional Fragments of his Comprehensive Annals", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25, 162-191.
1970. *The records of the early Hittite Empire (C. 1450-1380 B.C.)*, Leiden.
- 1973a. "The Particle -a and its Usage with Respect to the Personal Pronoun", in *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, Wiesbaden, 119-139.
- 1973b. Review of Laroche, 1966. *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30, 252-257.
1979. "Mursilis' Northwestern Campaigns - Additional Fragments of his Comprehensive Annals concerning the Nerik Region", in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris, 157-167.
1988. "Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar", in Neu, E. and Chr. Rüster eds. *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae: Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 167-194.
- Hruzný, B. 1917. *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm. Ein Entzifferungsversuch* (Boğazköy-Studien 1). Leipzig.
1922. *Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure*. I. Paris.
- Imparati, F. 1965. "L'autobiografia di Hattusili I". *Studi Classici e Orientali* 14, 40-76.
- 1979a. "Une Reine de Hatti vénérée déesse Ningal" in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris, 169-176.
- 1979b. "Il culto della dea Ningal presso gli ittiti" in Carruba O. et al. *Studia Mediterranea Pietro Meriggi dicata*, Pavia, 293-324.
- Jakob-Rost, L. 1953. "Ein hethitisches Ritual gegen Familienzwist", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 1, 345-379.
1963. "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen (II. Teil)", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 9, 175-239.
1972. *Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa gegen Behexung (KUB XXIV 9+)* (Texte der Hethiter 2), Heidelberg.
- Josephson, F. 1972. *The Function of Sentence Particles in Old and Middle Hittite* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Indo-europaea Upsaliensia). Uppsala.
1981. Review of Starke, F. 1977. *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen*, in *Kratylos* 26, 95-105.
- Kammenhuber, A. 1952. "Philologische Untersuchungen zu den 'Pferdetexten' aus dem Keilschriftarchiv von Boğazköy", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 2, 47-120.
1961. *Hippologia Hethitica*, Wiesbaden.
1970. "Die erste Computer-Analyse des Hethitischen", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 28, 51-69.
1973. "Syn- und Diachronisches zu hethitisch anda, andan und anda mema-", in Neu, E. and Chr. Rüster eds. *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, Wiesbaden, 141-160.
1974. "Sporadische Univerbierungen von Adverbien und Verba Composita" in Bittel, K. et al. eds. *Anatolian Studies presented to Hans Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Istanbul, 151-164.

Bibliography

1979. = Heinhold-Krahmer, S., I. Hoffmann, A. Kammenhuber and G. Mauer, *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie* (Texte der Hethiter 9), Heidelberg.
- Kammenhuber, HW¹ = Friedrich, J. and A. Kammenhuber, 1975 ff. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd. ed. Heidelberg.
- Kellerman, G. 1978. "The King and the Sun-God", *Tel Aviv* 5, 199–207.
1980. "Recherche sur les tituels de fondation hittites", dissertation Université de Paris.
- Klengel, H. 1963. "Zu KUB XIX 19 und XXXIV 43, ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Geographie", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 8, 15–23.
- Klinger, J. 1992. "Fremde und Außenseiter in Hatti", in Haas, V. ed. *Außenseiter und Randgruppen. Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients* (XENIA 32), Konstanz, 187–212.
1995. "Das Corpus der Maṣat-Briefe und seine Beziehungen zu den Texten aus Ḫattuša", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 85, 74–108.
- Kronasser, H. 1963. *Die Umsiedlung der schwarzen Gottheit: das hethitische Ritual KUB XXIX 4*, Vienna.
1966. *Etyologie der hethitischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden.
- Kühner, R. and B. Gerth. 1989. *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre. Erster Band*, Hannover.
- Kühner, R. and C. Stegmann. 1912. *Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Satzlehre. Erster Teil*, Hannover.
- Kümmel, H.M. 1967. *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (Studien zu den Bogazköy Texten 3), Wiesbaden.
- Laroche, E. 1957. Review of Schäfer, E. von. 1957. *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte* (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 10), Graz, *Revue hittite et asianique* 6, 126ff.
1959. *Dictionnaire de la langue Louvite*, Paris.
1960. "Lettre d'un préfet au roi hittite", *Revue hittite et asianique* XVIII/67, 81–86.
1961. "Notes de linguistique anatolienne", *Revue hittite et asianique* XIX/68, 25–37.
- 1965, 1968. "Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription", *Revue hittite et asianique* XXIII/77, XXVI/82.
1970. "Études de linguistique Anatolienne. III", *Revue hittite et asianique* XXVIII, 22–57.
- Lebrun, M. 1976. *Sumuha. Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite* (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain), Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Luraghi, S. 1990. *Old Hittite Sentence Structure*, London.
- Melchert, H.C. 1977. *Ablative and Instrumental in Hittite*, dissertation Harvard University.
1978. "The Acts of Ḫattušili I", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37, 1–22.
1979. "On §§ 56, 162 and 171 of the Hittite Laws", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 31, 57–64.
1996. Review of Güterbock, H.G. and Th.P.J. van den Hout. 1991. *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard* (Assyriological Studies 24), Chicago, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55, 134–135.
- del Monte, G.F. 1978. "Utruna e la festa purulli", *Oriens Antiquus* 17, 179–192.

Bibliography

- del Monte, G.F. and J. Tischler. 1978. *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, vol. 6. Wiesbaden.
- Nakamura, M. 1993. *Das hethitische nuntarrijaštu-Fest*, dissertation Universität Würzburg.
- Neu, E. 1968a. *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 5), Wiesbaden.
- 1968b. *Das hethitische Mediopassiv und seine indogermanischen Grundlagen* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 6), Wiesbaden.
- 1968c. Review of Schuler, E. von. 1965. *Die Kaskäer*, Berlin, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 73, 169–177.
1970. *Ein althethitisches Gewitterritual*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 12). Wiesbaden.
- 1974a. *Der Anita-Text* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 18), Wiesbaden.
- 1974b. Review of Szabo, G. 1971. *Ein hethitisches Entsühnungsritual für das königspaar Tuthaliya und Nikalmari* (Texte der Hethiter 1), Heidelberg, in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 79, 257–265.
- 1974c. Review of Jakob Rost, L. 1972. *Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa gegen Beherrung (KUR XXIV 9+)* (Texte der Hethiter 2), Heidelberg, in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 79, 265–271.
1976. "Zur Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Verbalsystems" in Morpurgo Davies et al. eds. *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday June 5, 1976*, Innsbruck, 239–254.
- 1979a. "Zum sprachlichen Alter des Hukkana-Vertrages", *Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 93, 64–88.
- 1979b. "Hethitisch kurut und takult in syntaktischer Sicht" in Carruba O. ed. *Studia Mediterranea Piero Metriggi dicata*, Pavia, 407–427.
- 1980a. *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 25), Wiesbaden.
- 1980b. *Studien zum endungslosen 'Lokativ' des Hethitischen* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 23), Innsbruck.
1983. *Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 26), Wiesbaden.
1986. "Zur Datierung der hethitischen Pferdetexte" in Hoffner, H. et al. eds. *Kanikkuyur: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday May 27, 1983* (Assyriological Studies 23), Chicago, 151–163.
- 1990 = Neu, E. and J. Klinger. 1990. "War die erste Computer-Analyse des Hethitischen verfehlt?", *Hethitica* X, 135–160.
1993. "Zu den hethitischen Ortspartikeln", *Linguistica XXXIII (Bojan Čop septuagenario in honorem oblatu)*, Ljubljana.
1995. "Futur im Hethitischen?" in Heitrich, H. et al. ed. *Verba et structureae. Festschrift für Klaus Strunk zum 65. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck, 195–202.
- Neu, E. and J. Klinger. 1990. "War die erste Computer-Analyse des Hethitischen verfehlt?", *Hethitica* X, 135–160.
- Neu, E. and C. Rüster. 1973. "Zur Datierung hethitischer Texte" in *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, Wiesbaden, 199–242.

Bibliography

- Oettinger, N. 1976. *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 22), Wiesbaden.
1979. *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbunt*, Nürnberg.
- Ose, F. 1944. *Supinum und Infinitiv im Hethitischen* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 47.1), Leipzig.
- Otten, H. 1953. "Die inschriftlichen Funde, Vorläufige Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1952". *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 86, 59–64.
1957. "Zwei althethitische Belege zu den Hapiru (SA.GAZ)". *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 52, Neue Folge 18, 216–223.
1958. *Hethitische Totenrituale*, Berlin.
1961. "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy". *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 44, 114–157.
1967. "Ein hethitisches Vertrag aus dem 15. / 14. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (KBo XVI 47)". *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17, 55–62.
1970. "Sorocat im alten Kleinasiens?". *Saeculum* 21, 162–165.
1971. *Materialien zum hethitischen Lexikon* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 15), Wiesbaden.
1973. *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 17), Wiesbaden.
1981. *Die Apologie Hattusili III. Das Bild der Überlieferung* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 24), Wiesbaden.
1982. "Bemerkungen zum Hethitischen Wörterbuch IV". *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 72, 280–288.
1987. *Das Hethitische Königshaus im 15. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Sonderabdruck aus dem Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 123. Jahrgang 1986, So. 2.1), Wien.
1988. *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthaliyas IV* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten Beiheft 1), Wiesbaden.
- Otten, H. and V. Souček. 1965. *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduhepa an die Göttin Lehwani* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 1), Wiesbaden.
1969. *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 8), Wiesbaden.
- Peechioli Daddi, F. Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita (Incunabula Graeca 79), Roma.
- Pedersen, H. 1938. *Hittisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, Copenhagen.
- Pinkster, H. 1972. *On Latin Adverbs*, Amsterdam.
1990. *Latin Syntax and Semantics*, London.
- Puhvel, HELL = Puhvel, J. 1984 ff. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Berlin.
- Quirk, R. S., Greenbaum, G., Leech and J. Svartvik. 1972. *A Grammar of Contemporary Modern English*, London.
1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, Harlow, Essex.
- Rizzi Mellini, A.M. 1979. "Un 'istituzione' etea di interesse storico: KBo XVI 24+25" in Carruba O. ed. *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, Pavia, 509–553.
- de Roos, J. 1984. *Hettitische Gelöften: Een teksteditie van Hettitische gelöften met inleiding, vertaling en critische noten*, dissertation Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Bibliography

- Rüster, Chr. 1993. "Eine Urkunde Hantilis II", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43, 63–70.
- Schuler, E. von. 1957. *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte* (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 10), Graz.
1965. *Die Kaskär* (UAVA 3), Berlin.
- Schwarz, B. 1950. "The particle -kan in Hittite", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, 18–24 and 179 ("Hittite -kan").
- Schwyzler, E. and A. Debrunner. 1950. *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischen Grammatik. Zweiter Band. Syntax und Syntaktische Stilistik*, München.
- Siegelová, J. 1970. "Ein hethitisches Fragment des Atra-hasis Epos", *Archiv Orientalní* 38, 135–139.
1971. *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 14), Wiesbaden.
- Singer, I. 1983. *The Hittite KI.LAM festival. Part One* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 27), Wiesbaden.
1984. *The Hittite KI.LAM festival. Part Two* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 28), Wiesbaden.
- Sommer, F. 1921. "Ein hethitisches Gebet", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 33, 85–102.
1932. *Die Ahhiavā-Urkunden* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, Neue Folge 6), München.
1938. See Sommer, F. and A. Falkenstein. 1938. *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I*, München.
1950. Review of Bozkurt, H., M. Çığ and H.G. Güterbock. 1944. *Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletelerinden segm̄ metinler Nr. 1*, Istanbul, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Neue Folge 15, 341–344.
- Sommer, F. and H. Ebholz. 1924. *Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komara* (Boghazköi-Studien 10), Leipzig.
- Sommer, F. and A. Falkenstein. 1938. *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I*. (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Abteilung, Neue Folge 16), München.
- Souček, V. 1963. "Randnotizen zu den hethitischen Feldertexten", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* II, 368–382.
- Starke, F. 1977. *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 23), Wiesbaden.
1981a. Review of Ünal, A. 1978. *Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof* (KUB XXII 70 - Bo 2011), Heidelberg, *Orientalia* 50, 467–470.
1981b. "Die keilschrift-luwischen Wörter für 'Insel' und 'Lampe'", *Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 95, 141–157.
1985. *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 30), Wiesbaden.
1995. *Ausbildung und Trainung von Streitwagenpferden. Eine hippologisch orientierte Interpretation des Kikkuli-Textes* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 41), Wiesbaden.
- Sturtevant, E.H. 1933. *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Philadelphia.
1934. "A Hittite Text on the Duties of Priests and Temple Servants", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 363–406.

Bibliography

1953. *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, 2nd. ed., vol. I. New Haven.
- Sturtevant, E.H. and G. Bechtel. 1935. *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, Philadelphia.
- Szabó, G. 1971. *Ein hethitisches Entsalinungsritual für das königspaar Tuthaliya und Nikalmati* (Texte der Hethiter 1), Heidelberg.
- Tesnière, L. 1959. *Eléments de syntaxe structurale*, Paris.
- TUAT = O. Kaiser ed., *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, Gütersloh.
- 1.1. 1982. *Rechtsbücher* (Hittite texts translated by E. von Schuler).
 - 1.5. 1985. *Historisch-chronologische Texte II* (Hittite texts translated by H.M. Kümmel).
 - 2.2. 1987. *Rituale und Beschwörungen I* (Hittite texts translated by H.M. Kümmel).
- Ünal, A. 1973. "Zum Status der 'Augures' bei den Hethitern", *Revue hittite et assyrienne* 31, 27–56.
1974. *Hattušili III. Teil I. Hattušili bis zu seiner Thronbesteigung*, Band 2 (Texte der Hethiter 4), Heidelberg.
1978. *Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof (KUB XXII 70 – Bo 2011)* (Texte der Hethiter 5), Heidelberg.
- Vester, E. 1981. Review of Happ, H. 1976. *Grundfragen einer Dependenzgrammatik des Lateinischen*, Göttingen. *Mnemosyne* 34, 169–174.
- Wackernagel, J. 1892. "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1, 333–435.
- Wegner, I. and M. Salvini. 1991. *Die hethitisch-hurritischen Ritualaspekte des (h)isuya-Festes* (Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler 1 / 4), Roma.
- Weitenberg, J.J.S. 1987. "Proto-Indo-European Nominal Classification and Old Hittite", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 48, 213–330.
1992. "The Uses of Asyndeton and Particles in Old Hittite Simple Sentences" in Carruba, O. ed. *Per una grammatica ittita. Towards a Hittite Grammar* (Studia Mediterranea 7), Pavia, 307–353.
- Werner, R. 1967. *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 4), Wiesbaden.
1973. "Ein Traum einer Hethitischen Königin" in Neu, E. et al. eds. *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, Wiesbaden, 327–330.
- Zuntz, L. 1936. *Die hethitischen Ortsadverbien arha, parā, piron als selbständige Adverbien und in ihrer Verbindung mit Nomina und Verba*, dissertation Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.
1937. *Un testo ittita di scongiuri* (Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti 96), Venezia.



Index of cited texts

Text	Example	Page
KBo		
KBo I 35 IV 4		■ n. 64
KBo II 5 IV 4, 6-9	(69-NH)	47
KBo II 8 III 12, IV 4'		39 n. 58
KBo II 11 rev. 5'		122 n. 97
KBo II 32 I 1'-11'	(261-lateNH)	101 n. 25, 102-103
KBo III 1 I 8'		66 n. 72
KBo III 1 II 48-49	(263-OH+)	104
KBo III 2 obv. 27	(301-MH+)	109 n. 52, 115 n. 68, 116
KBo III 2 obv. 28-29	(347-MH+)	149, 151 n. 76
KBo III 2 rev 4-5	(354-MH+)	150, 151 n. 76
KBo III 4 I 34		155 (table 5.6)
KBo III 4 II 7-8	(154-NH)	67, 170
KBo III 4 II 15-16	(16-NH)	24-25
KBo III 4 II 16	(384-NH)	175
KBo III 4 II 28-30	(95-NH)	■
KBo III 4 II 28-29, 31-32	(172-NH)	■, 71 n. 91
KBo III 4 II 33, 36	(173-NH)	70-71, 174
KBo III 4 II 34-35	(142-NH)	65, 170
KBo III 4 II 52-54	(106-NH)	■
KBo III 4 III 16	(371-NH)	167
KBo III 4 III 36-37	(110-NH)	58
KBo III 4 III 66	(376-NH)	58 n. 44, 169
KBo III 4 III 69-70		152 (table 5.6)
KBo III 4 III 70-71		154 (table 5.6)
KBo III 4 III 76-78	(352-NH)	150
KBo III 4 III 78		154 (table 5.6)
KBo III 4 III 79-82	(67-NH)	46-47
KBo III 4 III 89-90	(152-NH), (346-NH)	66, 149
KBo III 4 IV 30-32	(286-NH)	112, 122
KBo III 4 IV 33	(377-NH)	58 n. 44, 169
KBo III 4 IV 34-35	(113-NH), (62-NH)	26, 46
KBo III 4 IV 39-41	(282-NH)	111
KBo III 6 III 61'-62'	(233-NH)	85
KBo III 7 IV 5-6	(63-NS)	46
KBo III 16 see KUB XXX I		
KBo III 22 obv. 5-6	(117-OH)	60, 142, 144, 161, 165, 173 n. 150
KBo III 22 obv. 10-11	(367-OH)	163

KBo III 22 obv. 41–42	(369-OH)	164
KBo III 22 rev. 76–77	(150-OH)	66, 160, 164 n. 31
KBo III 22 rev. 76–79	(61-OH)	46
KBo III 34 II 6–7		148 n. 67
KBo III 36 II 14'		148 n. 67
KBo III 60 III 10'–11'		57 n. 41
KBo III 67 II 8–9		66 n. 72
KBo IV 2 II 28		79 n. 121
KBo IV 2 III 42–44	(30-NH)	32
KBo IV 2 III 44–46	(162-NH)	68
KBo IV 2 III 47–48	(217-NH)	82
KBo IV 4 II 7–8		155 (table 5.6)
KBo IV 4 II 60–62	(131-NH)	63
KBo IV 4 II 65–66	(351-NH)	150
KBo IV 4 II 67–70	(42-NH)	36
KBo IV 4 III 17–19	(134-NH)	■
KBo IV 4 III 18–19	(97-NH)	55, 166
KBo IV 4 III 19–22	(171-NH)	70
KBo IV 4 III 31–33	(9-NH)	24–25
KBo IV 4 III 43–44	(31-NH)	32
KBo IV 4 IV 17		153 (table 5.6)
KBo IV 4 IV 42–43	(14-NH)	26
KBo IV 7 II 12–■	(156-NH)	67
KBo IV 9 II 1–6	(202-NS)	78, 172
KBo IV 9 IV 45–50	(327-NS)	126
KBo IV 10 obv. 13'–14'		151 n. 80
KBo IV 10 obv. 38		100 n. 20
KBo IV 10 rev. 23		11 n. 33
KBo IV 12 obv. 15–21	(288-NH)	53 n. 19, 112
KBo IV 14 III 51–52	(158-lateNH)	67
KBo V 1 II 56–58	(167-NS)	69
KBo V 1 III 14–15		114 n. 63
KBo V 1 III 17–20	(328-NS)	126–127
KBo V 2 II 46–47		64 n. 65
KBo V 2 III 39	(357-NS)	151
KBo V 3+ II 1–5	(287-NH)	112
KBo V 3+ II 32–35, 43	(321-NH)	124
KBo V 3+ III 29		99 n. 14
KBo V 3+ III 32–34	(249-MH)	98 n. 11
KBo V 3+ III 35–37	(125-NH)	■
KBo V 4 rev. 2–3, 13	(319-NH)	123–124, 171
KBo V 4 rev. 5	(320-NH)	123, 124 n. 101
KBo V 4 rev. 27	(157-NH)	67
KBo V 4 rev. 37–38		34 n. 43
KBo V 4 rev. 46–47	(37-NH)	34
KBo V 6 III 10–15	(297-NH)	115

KBo V 6 III 44–45	<i>see also</i> KBo XIV 12 III 24–25	
KBo V 6 IV 4–6	(298-NH)	51 n. 19
KBo V 8 I 30–31	(94-NH), (190-NH)	54, 75
KBo V 8 I 30, 31–33	(38-NH)	34
KBo V 8 I 33–35	(38D-NH)	172
KBo V 8 II 3–5	(197-NH)	77
KBo V 8 II 29–30		153 (table 5.6)
KBo V 8 III 22	(372-NH)	167–168
KBo V 8 III 23–24		153 (table 5.6)
KBo V 8 III 30–31		154 (table 5.6)
KBo V 8 III 35		152 (table 5.6)
KBo V 8 IV 10–12	(11-NH), (223-NH)	25–26, 83
KBo V 13 I 7–9	(70-NH)	47
KBo VI 2+ I 13–15	(245-OH)	97–98
KBo VI 2+ II 7–8	(251-OH)	99
KBo VI 2+ II 10	(160-OH)	68
KBo VI 2+ II 51–52	(305-OH)	117, 122 n. 97
KBo VI 2+ IV 10–11	(322-OH)	124, 125 n. 103
KBo VI 2+ IV 12’–13’	(84-OH)	52
KBo VI 2+ IV 37’	(86-OH)	53, 143 n. 42, 164
KBo VI 2+ IV 45’–46’	(363-OH)	160, 164 n. 131
KBo VI 2+ IV 54’	(365-OH)	162
KBo VI 3+ II 22	(250-OH+)	98–99
KBo VI 3+ II 29–30	(159-OH+)	68
KBo VI 3+ IV 35–36		53 n. 26
KBo VI 15 JV’ 6–8	(315-OH+)	121–122
KBo VI 26 I 18–21	(315-OH+)	121–122
KBo VI 26 II 3–5	(227-OH+)	■
KBo VI 29+ II 31–34	(121-NH)	60
KBo VII 34+ III 43–45		32 n. 32
KBo VII 34+ III 47–IV 3	(105-NS)	57, 114 n. 64
KBo VII 14 obv. 3–4		59 n. 47
KBo VII 14 obv. 7	(169-OH)	70, 163, 165, 173 n. 151
KBo VII 35+ KBo XVII 44+ KBo XVI 99 I 9’–10’		68 n. 80
KBo VII 60 rev. 8	(257-NS)	101
KBo VIII 35 III 6		103 n. 33
KBo VIII 107+ III 14–15		118 n. 79
KBo VIII 109 I 3’–4’	<i>see also</i> KBo XXI 85 I 8–9	
KBo ■■■ obv. 1–5	(20-NH)	29
KBo IX ■■■ obv. 9–11	(25-NH)	31
KBo IX 106 III 20		69 n. ■■■
KBo X 1		122 n. 96
KBo X 2 I 9–10	(294-NS)	57 n. 40, 114
KBo X 2 I 19–20		114 n. 64
KBo X 2 I 53–II 2	(316-NS)	122
KBo X 2 II 48–51, 54–55	(137-NS)	64

KBo X 12 III 10'	(47-NH)	38
KBo X 20 II 34-37	(304-NS)	117
KBo X 27 V 29-30		38 n. 57
KBo X 4I: 1'		55-56 n. 35
KBo X 4I: 6'-7'		119 n. 86
KBo X 45 IV 1	(379-NS)	169-170, 178 n. 161
KBo XII 126 IV 4-5, 6 see also KUB XXIV 9 IV 18-19, 20		
KBo XIII 1 rev. left col. 16		64 n. 64
KBo XIII 167 II 10	(258-NS)	101
KBo XIV 3 IV 26'-27	(361-NH)	156
KBo XIV 12 III 24-25		
followed by KBo V 6 III 44-45	(198-NH)	77
KBo XIV 20 II 18 see also KUB XXXIV 33: 4		
KBo XV 1 I 2-3		29 n. 25
KBo XV 1 I 6-7	(21-NH)	29
KBo XV 1 I 9-11	(279-NH)	110
KBo XV 2 rev. 5'	(32-NH)	32
KBo XV 10+ II 28-29	(284-MH)	111-112
KBo XV 10+ III 58'		66 n. 72
KBo XV 48 III 34-38	(259-NS)	101
KBo XVI 6 III 6-7	(199-NH)	77, 139, 171
KBo XVI 24 I 19'-20' +		
KBo XVI 25 I 8'-9'	(253-MH)	99
KBo XVI 25 I 8'-9' see also KBo XVI 24 I 19'-20'		
KBo XVI 25+ I 8I		35 n. 45
KBo XVII 1+I 11'-13'		103 n. 31
KBo XVII 1+I 18'-20'	(271-OH)	106
KBo XVII 1+I 20'-22'	(87-OH), (138-OH)	53, 64
KBo XVII 1+II 19'-20'	(330-OH)	141, 145, 163
KBo XVII 1+II 34'-36'	(241-OH)	95, 141 n. 35
KBo XVII 1+II 40'	(168-OH)	70
KBo XVII 1+II 10-13	(234-OH)	63 n. 59, 86, 140 n. 32, 143 n. 43, 164-165
KBo XVII 1+II 16	(370-OH)	165
KBo XVII 1+IV 14-15	(262-OH)	103
KBo XVII 1+IV 39-40	(244-OH)	16 n. 49, 96-97
KBo XVII 3+ II 4'-6'		95 n. 3
KBo XVII 3+ II 11'		70 n. 86
KBo XVII 3+ III 43'	(203-OH)	78 n. 118, 79
KBo XVII 3+ IV 10		103 n. 32
KBo XVII 3+ IV 20, 22	(293-OH)	114
KBo XVII 3+ IV 24, 26-27	(243-OH)	16 n. 49, 96
KBo XVII 3+ IV 31-32	(368-OH)	164
KBo XVII 7+ KBo XXV 7+		
IBoT III 135 IV? 5'-7'	(260-OH)	102
KBo XVII 11+ 2606/c I 28'	(118-OH)	60

KBo XVII 11+ 131'-32'		
KBo XVII 11+ 132'	(248-OH)	79, 146
	(204-OH)	98 n. 155
KBo XVII 11+ KBo XX 12		
IV 24'	(92-OH)	54
KBo XVII 11+ KBo XX 12		
IV 25'	(207-OH)	79
KBo XVII 15 rev' 13'	(332-OH)	141-142, 145, 162, 165
KBo XVII 15 rev' 14'-15'	(333-OH)	142
KBo XVII 15 rev' 15'-16'	(334-OH)	142, 161, 163
KBo XVII 18 II 6'		68 n. 79
KBo XVII 18 II 8	(331-OH)	141, 145, 162
KBo XVII 25 obv. 7'	(148-OH)	66, 160
KBo XVII 40 IV 7'		141 n. 37
KBo XVII 40 IV 8'		142 n. 38
KBo XVII 43 I 5'	(163-OH)	68, 160
KBo XVII 43 I 10'	(54-OH)	39
KBo XVII 43 I 11'-13'	(140-OH)	119, 144, 145 n. 20, 160-161
KBo XVII 43 I 15'-16'	(268-OH)	105-106
KBo XVII 44 see KBo VII 30		
KBo XVII 74+ 130-31	(132-OH+)	63
KBo XVII 74+ 131-32		98 n. 10
KBo XVII 74+ 132-33		79 n. 120
KBo XVII 94 III 5'	(206-NS)	79
KBo XVII 99 see KBo VII 35		
KBo XIX 44+ rev. 20-21		98 n. 11, 98 n. 12
KBo XIX 76 I 29'-30' see also KUB XIV 20; 16-17		
KBo XIX 156+ II 10	(276-OH)	109, 146
KBo XX 5 see KBo XXV 12		
KBo XX 10+ 11-2	(113-OH)	59, 146
KBo XX 12 see KBo XVII 11		
KBo XX 16 obv. 3-4		124 n. 102
KBo XX 31; 34		24 n. 6
KBo XXI 22; 22'-26'	(73-OH+)	49
KBo XXI 78 I 11-12		150 n. 74
KBo XXI 85 I R-9 + KBo VIII 109 I 3'-4'		150 n. 74
KBo XXII 1; 3'-4'	(337-OH)	146, 162
KBo XXII 1; 14'	(44-OH)	37, 163
KBo XXII 1; 14'-15'	(296-OH)	135
KBo XXII 2 obv. 1, 6	(165-OH)	69
KBo XXII 2 obv. 2-3		145 n. 56
KBo XXII 2 obv. 4-5	(292-OH)	114, 144, 161
KBo XXII 2 obv. 7	(364-OH)	160
KBo XXII 2 rev. 13'-14'	(65-OH)	46-47
IIIBo XXII 2 rev. 14'-15'	(130-OH)	119, 159, 164 n. 131
KBo XXIII 6 + FHG 20		

(IV): 9-10	(S-MH)	5, 174
KBo XXIII 42 II 3-4		83 n. 135
KBo XXIII 43 III 11-12 see also KBo XXIV 63 III 4-5		
KBo XXIV 57 II 3-4	(220-NS)	82-83
KBo XXIV 63 III 4-5 +		
KBo XXIII 43 III 11-12	(181-NS)	73
KBo XXV 7 see KBo XVII 7		
KBo XXV 12 + KBo XX 5+		
II 17'-18'	(71-OH)	48
KBo XXV 12 + KBo XX 5+		
II 18'	(6-OH)	16
KBo XXV 147 rev. 6'	(325-OH)	126
KBo XXV 176 rev. 18'-19'	(185-NS)	■
KBo XXVII 165+ obv. 8	(211-MS)	80
KBo XXIX 206 see KUB XXXII 123		
KBo XXX 164 III 8-15	(123-NS), (189-NS)	61, 74
KBo XXXIV 160: 1'-6'		86 n. 147
KBo XXXIV 185 I 5		151 n. 76
KBo XXXIV 268: 9'	(228-NS)	■
KBo XXXV 253+ obv. II 15'-17'		156 n. 107

KUB

KUB II + IV 30		85 n. 142
KUB II + IV 62, 64-65		113 n. 60
KUB II 13+ II 22-23	(300-MH+)	109 n. 52, 115 n. 68, 116
KUB II 16 III 26-27	(252-OH+)	99
KUB II 16 III 44-45	(75-OH+)	49
KUB II 31 II 13-15	(80-NS)	51
KUB II 31 II 41-46	(81-NS), (324-NS)	51, 125
KUB II 3 II 11-14	(82-NS)	51
KUB II 5 II 35-39	(49-NS)	38, 139
KUB II 5 V 1	(355-NS)	150
KUB II 6 V 36-43	(266-NS)	104-105
KUB II 7: 13'-20'		68 n. 147
KUB II 13 II 12-22	(313-NS)	120
KUB II 13 II 59-60	(1-NS), (277-NS)	3, 109
KUB V II 46	(353-NH)	150
KUB V II 53-54	(194-NH)	75, 171
KUB V II 79-80	(235-NH)	86
KUB V 1 II 45	(195-NH)	76, 172
KUB V 1 II 55-56	(238-NH)	87
KUB V 1 IV 65-66	(231-NH)	85
KUB V 1 left edge a: I-2	(240-NH)	87, 172
KUB V 6+ I 34'-35'		120 n. 93
KUB V 6+ I 39'-42'	(340-NH)	147-148

KUB VI 41 obv. 14		67 n. 76
KUB VI 44 I 12-13		67 n. 76
KUB VI 45+ III 7-8		40 n. 61
KUB VII 5+ I 6-8	(128-NS)	62
KUB VII 10 I 7-8	(83-NS)	52
KUB VII 10 I 7-11	(72-NS)	48, 62 n. 57
KUB VII 41 obv. 22-23, 24	(139-NS)	64
KUB VII 53 + KUB XII 58		
II 41-45	(302-NS)	109, 109 n. 52, 109 n. 54, 116
KUB VIII 13: 11'-12'	(24-NS)	30
KUB VIII 16: 7-9 +		
KUB VIII 24 rev. 8-10	(85-NS)	52
KUB VIII 24 rev. 8-10 see also KUB VIII 16: 7-9		
KUB VIII 27 left edge b1-2		52 n. 24
KUB VIII 50+ III 6-9	(177-NS)	71-72
KUB IX 13 see KUB XXIV 5		
KUB IX 15 II 24-III 3	(280-NS)	110
KUB IX 16 I 13-14		4 n. 5
KUB IX 27+ I 14-15	(51-NS)	38
KUB IX 27+ I 23-24		109 n. 54
KUB X 18 I 1-5	(74-NS)	49, 67 n. 74
KUB X 18 VI 6-8	(2-NS)	3
KUB X 21 I 10-11		60 n. 59
KUB X 28 I 11-12	(267-NS)	105
KUB X 48 II 18-19		4 n. 5
KUB X 9 I 11-11	(53-NS)	39
KUB XI 17 IV 6-11	(143-NS)	65
KUB XI 23 V 2-8	(312-NS)	120
KUB XI 29 II 12		78 n. 117
KUB XI 32+ IV 15'-21'	(119-OH+)	30, 60
KUB XII 12 V 22-23	(153-NS)	66, 170
KUB XII 27+ rev. 16-17, 20-21	(242-NH)	19 n. 60, 96
KUB XIII 58 see KUB VII 53		
KUB XIII 59 see KUB XV 39		
KUB XIII 63 obv. 18 +		
KUB XXXVI 70: 7	(89-OH+)	53-54
KUB XIII 63+ rev. 19, 22	(88-OH+)	53-54
KUB XIII 66 IV 9		46 n. 7
KUB XIII 2 III 36-37, 38-40	(107-MH+)	57
KUB XIII 4 I 48-49		113 n. 62
KUB XIII 4 IV 63-64	(290-MH+)	113-114
KUB XIII 5 II 25		114 n. 65
KUB XIII 6 II 8	(295-MH+)	113-114
KUB XIII 8 obv. 14		178 n. 166
KUB XIII 9 see KUB XL 62		

KUB XIII 27 rev' 22-23 +		
KUB XXIII 77 + KUB XXVI 40: 93'-94'	(191-MH)	75
KUB XIII 35 I 24 +		
KUB XXIII 80 obv. I ■	(236-NH)	86
KUB XIII 35+ I 29-32	(318-NH)	123
KUB XIV I+ obv. 11	(374-MH)	168
KUB XIV I+ obv. 50		98 n. 9
KUB XIV I+ obv. 59	(373-MH)	168
KUB XIV I+ obv. 60	(108-MH)	10 n. 25, 30, ■
KUB XIV I+ obv. 65	(109-MH)	58, 169
KUB XIV I+ obv. 68-69	(338-MH)	147
KUB XIV I+ obv. 71	(356-MH)	151
KUB XIV I+ rev. 20	(246-MH)	98
KUB XIV I+ rev. 34	(18-MH)	28, 167
KUB XIV I+ rev. 38	(344-MH)	148
KUB XIV I+ rev. 52, 54	(112-MH)	58-59
KUB XIV I+ rev. 56	(247-MH)	98
KUB XIV 3 I 71-73	(219-NH)	82
KUB XIV 3 III 9-10	(218-NH)	82
KUB XIV 10 I 20-21	(59-NH)	40
KUB XIV 15 III 43		153 (table 5.6)
KUB XIV 15 IV 23		155 (table 5.6)
KUB XIV 15 IV 39		112 n. 58
KUB XIV 20: 16'-17' *		
KBa XIX 76 I 29'-30'	(26-NH)	30
KUB XIV 29 I 16-17		77 n. 113
KUB XV 1 II 29. ■		57 n. 42
KUB XV 5 III 17-21	(317-NH)	122
KUB XV 12 IV 5'	(57-NS)	40
KUB XV 17+15		40 n. 61
KUB XV 31 IV 38'-40'	(3-MH+)	4-5, 174
KUB XV 32 I 52-54	(151-NS), (180-NS)	66, 72
KUB XV 34+ I 21-22		153 n. 85
KUB XV 39 + ■ KUB XII 59 II 19-20		51 n. 21, 51 n. 22
■ KUB XVI 16 rev. 5-7	(174-NS)	70-71
KUB XVI 59: 4	(229-NS')	54 n. 4, 84
KUB XVII 5 I 13-14		62 n. 56
KUB XVII 10 III 9-10		103 n. 29
KUB XVII 10 IV 12-13	(77-OH+)	50
KUB XVII 10 IV 13	(378-OH+)	169, 178 n. 161
KUB XVII 10 IV 16-17	(99-OH+)	55, 63 n. 59
KUB XVII 21+ II 8-13	(22-MH)	29-30, 168-169
KUB XVII 27 III 12-15	(41-NS)	35
KUB XVII 28 II 58-60	(15-NS)	26-27
KUB XVII 35 I 24'-25'	(52-lateNH)	38, 167-168

KUB XVIII 5 II 10-11	(178-NS)	45 n. 4, 72
KUB XIX 6+ III 40-42	(289-NH)	113
KUB XIX 10 I 4'-5'		151 n. 79
KUB XIX 10 I 12'	(46-NH)	37
KUB XIX 11 I 9'-10'	(359-NH)	151
KUB XIX 11 I 9'-11'	(104-NH)	56-57
KUB XIX 11 IV 14-16	(358-NH)	151
KUB XIX 13+14: 10'		63 n. 61
KUB XIX 18 IV 22'		156 n. 108
KUB XIX 23 rev. 6-9	(40-NH), (68-NH)	35, 47
KUB XIX 37 II 28-31	(239-NH)	87
KUB XIX 37 II 35-37	(222-NH)	83
KUB XIX 37 III 49-50	(136-NH), (141-NH)	63 n. 61, 64, 65
KUB XIX 49+ 144-45, 52		71 n. 93
KUB XIX 49+ 149-50, 53	(175-NH)	71
KUB XX 8 I 3-8	(311-NS)	119
KUB XX 28 I 3-8	(326-NS)	126
KUB XX 78 IV 7-9		119 n. 85
KUB XXI 27 II 9-10		83 n. 136
KUB XXI 29 II 6-8	(27-NH)	31, 173
KUB XXI 29 II 6-13		30
KUB XXI 29 II 14-15	(23-NH)	30
KUB XXII 51 obv. 11		73 n. 102
KUB XXII 70 obv. 8-9		40 n. 61
KUB XXII 70 obv. 36, 38	(35-NH)	33
KUB XXII 70 obv. 76-78	(28-NH)	31
KUB XXII 70 rev. 36		31 n. 30
KUB XXIII 11 II 20-22	(91-NH+)	53
KUB XXIII 13: 8-9	(339-lateNH)	147
KUB XXIII 33: 5'-7'		122 n. 96
KUB XXIII 72+ rev. 16-17	(90-NH)	53
KUB XXIII 77+: 26'-27'	(66-NH)	46
KUB XXIII 77+: 52		49 n. 14
KUB XXIII 77: 93'- 104' see also KUB XIII 27 rev. 22-23		
KUB XXIII 77a+		
rev. 11'-12'	(208-MH)	79
KUB XXIII 80 obv.' 10 see also KUB XIII 35 I 24		
KUB XXIII 87: 10-11		71 n. 94
KUB XXIV 5+		
KUB IX 13 obv. 20', 23'-24'	(155-NH)	67, 166
KUB XXIV 9+ 150-51		103 n. 29
KUB XXIV 9+ II 48'-49'	(309-NS)	119
KUB XXIV 9 I V 18-19, 20+		
KBo XII 126 IV 4-5, 6	(100-NS)	55
KUB XXIV 10 II 2'		55-56 n. 35
KUB XXIV 10 II 6'-7'		119 n. 86

KUB XXIV 11 II 22'-24'	(101-NS)	55-56
KUB XXIV 11 II 27'-28'		119 n. 86
KUB XXV 12 VI 9-13		49 n. 14
KUB XXV 23 left edge a1-2	(116-lateNH)	60, 166
KUB XXV 28 I 3-4		77 n. 112
KUB XXVI I+ II 17, 19-20	(102-lateNH)	54 n. 32, 56
KUB XXVI I+ II 25-26	(103-lateNH)	56
KUB XXVI I+ III 37-40	(314-lateNH)	121
KUB XXVI 8		56 n. 36, 56 n. 37
KUB XXVI 40 see KUB XIII 27		
KUB XXVI 71 113'		74 n. 106
KUB XXVI 71 117'-18'		66 n. 73
KUB XXVII 1 I 7-9, 20-21	(166-NS)	69
KUB XXVII 1 I 20-21	(64-NS)	46-47
KUB XXVII 29+ II 17-■■	(33-NS)	32 n. 36, 33
KUB XXIX 11 50-51	(96-OH+)	55, 170
KUB XXIX 4 II 41-42		64 n. 65
KUB XXIX 7+ rev. 51-52	(362-MS)	156
KUB XXIX 8 IV 38-39	(4-MH)	5, 174
KUB XXIX 28 18'	(366-OH)	145 n. 56, 162-163
KUB XXIX 45 17'-8'		120 n. 90
KUB XXIX 52+ IV 6	(310-MH)	119, 120 n. 90
KUB XXIX 55 116		151 n. 76
KUB XXX 15+ obv. 3-5	(291-NS)	113
KUB XXX 16+ KUB XXXIX 1 11-5	(281-NS)	110
KUB XXX 24 II 8-9, 12-14	(283-NS)	111
KUB XXX 34 IV 20-23	(348-NS)	149
KUB XXX 34 IV 25-29	(127-NS)	62
KUB XXX 54 II 13-16+		
KUB XXXIII 47: 1'-5'	(182-OH+)	73, 139
KUB XXXI I+ KBu III 16 II 7"-8"		107 n. 44
KUB XXXI 47 rev. 5		71 n. 92
KUB XXXI 54: 11-12	(147-NH)	66
KUB XXXI 56		66 n. 71
KUB XXXI 71 III 2-3, 7-8	(341-NH)	148
KUB XXXI 86: 3		118 n. 83
KUB XXXI 86+ 1203/u II 23'-27'	(273-MH+)	108, 173
KUB XXXI 87 II 18-20+		
KUB XXXI 88 II 4-6	(308-NH)	118
KUB XXXI 88 II 4-6 see also KUB XXXI 87 II 18-20		
KUB XXXI 113: 10'-12'	(210-NS)	80
KUB XXXI 127+ I 4-5		107 n. 46
KUB XXXI 127+ I 58-59	(39-NS)	35
KUB XXXII 115+ IV 0		69 n. 82

KUB XXXII 123+		
KBo XXIX 206 19'	(144-OH+)	■
KUB XXXII 123+ II 31-32	(307-OH+)	118
KUB XXXIII 8 III 7-III	(98-OH+)	55, 63 n. 59
KUB XXXIII 47; 1'-5' see also KUB XXX 54 II 13-16		
KUB XXIII 4K: 1-2		73 n. 104
KUB XXXIII 93 II 21	(226-NS)	70 n. ■, 84
KUB XXXIII 96+ II 3-5, 9-10	(313-NS)	125
KUB XXXIII 98+ II 4-6, 9-10		125 n. 104
KUB XXXIII 98+ II 15-16		38 n. 56
KUB XXXIII 102 II 7-8	(170-NS)	70, 84 n. 138, 173
KUB XXXIII 102 II 18	(48-NS)	■, 167
KUB XXXIII 106 II 11-12	(124-NS)	61
KUB XXXIII 106 III 7'-8'	(225-NS)	84
KUB XXXIII 112+ II 10-12	(78-NS)	50
KUB XXXIV 33; 4+		
KBo XIV 20 I 18	(149-NH)	66
KUB XXXV 163 III 12-14	(342-NS)	148
KUB XXXVI 5 I 4-5	(18-NS)	26
KUB XXXVI 67 II 21'-■'	(58-NS)	40
KUB XXXVI 70; 7 see also KUB XIII 6 obv. ■		
KUB XXXVI 74 III 6'-7'	(232-NS)	85, 171
KUB XXXVI 87 III 6'-15'	(193-NH)	75
KUB XXXVI 89 rev. 64'-65'	(349-NH)	149
KUB XXXVI 98a: 10'		164 n. 132
KUB XXXVI 104 rev. 7'	(329-OH)	141, 145
KUB XXXVI 106(+) obv. 2'	(7-OH)	24
KUB XXXVIII 35 II 1-2	(120-lateNH)	60
KUB XXXIX 1 see KUB XXX 16		
KUB XL 62 + KUB XIII 9		
III 19-20	(306-MH+)	117-118
KUB XI. 106 obv. II 7'-10'	(230-NS')	85, 172
KUB XLI III IV 26-27		169 n. 144
KUB XLII 100 IV 36'-37'	(201-lateNH)	78, 171
KUB XLIII 30 II 8'	(336-OH)	144, 145, 145 n. 54, 160
KUB XLIII 30 II 9'-10'	(335-OH)	142, 161
KUB XLIII 54 rev. V 1'-2'		81 n. 130
KUB XLIII 54 rev. V 7'-9'	(215-NS)	81
KUB XLIV 4 rev. 7-8		82 n. 131
KUB XLIV 4 rev. 17	(76-NS)	50
KUB XLIV 47 obv. 21'	(216-NS)	82
KUB XLIV 61 obv. 3, 5-7	(36-NH)	34
KUB XLV 26 II 3		73 n. 103
KUB XLV 47+ I 38-39	(221-MH)	83
KUB XLV 47+ II 15		114 n. 63
KUB XLVIII 116 I 5-6		40 n. 61

KUB LIII 50 I 8-9	(214-NS)	81
KUB LVII 79 rev IV 36		111 n. 56
KUB LVII 123: 12-13	(129-NH)	62
KUB LVIII 11 obv. 1-4	(209-NS)	80
KUB LVIII 22+ 128'-32'	(237-NS)	86
KUB LVIII 51 II 17-20	(55-NS)	39
KUB LX 157 III 5-6		119 n. 87

ABoT

ABoT 60 rev. 3-7	(19-MH)	28
------------------	---------	----

IBoT

IBoT I 36 I 14		154 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 I 23-24	(275-MH)	109, 166
IBoT I 36 I 31		154 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 I 35-36	(126-MH)	61
IBoT I 36 I 57		152 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 I 60-61	(122-MH)	61
IBoT I 36 I 64	(145-MH), (205-MH)	65, 79
IBoT I 36 I 73		154 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 II 15-16	(146-MH)	65
IBoT I 36 II 23-24		153 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 II 36, 38	(50-MH)	20, 138-139
IBoT I 36 II 41-43	(179-MH)	72
IBoT I 36 II 47, 50	(45-MH)	37, 139, 167
IBoT I 36 II 60-62		
IBoT I 36 II 60-63	(43-MH)	39
	(196-MH)	76
IBoT I 36 III 10		154 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 III 18-19	(56-MH)	39
IBoT I 36 III 19, 21	(187-MH)	74
IBoT I 36 III 23-26	(212-MH), (213-MH)	80-81
IBoT I 36 III 25-26	(186-MH)	74, 170
IBoT I 36 III 32-33	(184-MH), (188-MH)	74, 171
IBoT I 36 III 44-45		154 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 III 48-50	(161-MH), (255-MH)	68, 100, 166
IBoT I 36 III 62		154 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 IV 3-4		152 (table 5.6)
IBoT I 36 IV 8-10	(114-MH)	59, 72
IBoT I 36 IV 10-11	(254-MH)	100
IBoT I 36 IV 14-17	(133-MH)	63
IBoT III 135 sec KBo XVII 7		
IBoT IV 63: 9'-10'		150 n. 74
IBoT IV 343: 5		62 n. 58

VBoT

VBoT 24 II 9-12	(183-NS)	73
VBoT 24 III 11-13	(200-NS)	78

FHG

FHG 20 see KBo XXII 6

HKM

HKM 6: 4-8	(192-MH)	75
HKM 7: II		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 8: 12-17	(17-MH)	28, 173
HKM 10: 38-39		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 10:47		128 n. 166
HKM 15: 6-9	(383-MH)	125
HKM 17: 7		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 17 left edge 4-5	(256-MH)	100
HKM 25: 6-8	(8-MH)	24-25
HKM 25: 18-19		152 (table 5.6)
HKM 27: 20	(375-MH)	139 n. 30, 166 n. 137, 169
HKM 29: 10		27 n. 19
HKM 30: 22		155 (table 5.6)
HKM 30: 23-left edge 2	(270-MH)	106
HKM 31: 5-7		154 (table 5.6)
HKM 31: 19		154 (table 5.6)
HKM 35: 1-7	(343-MH)	148
HKM 36: 5		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 36: 29-31	(269-MH)	106
HKM 36: 34-36	(265-MH)	102 n. 26, 104
HKM 37: 3		29 n. 24
HKM 37: 11		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 38: 3-7		174 n. 152
HKM 43: 1'-3'		150 n. 73
HKM 43: 8'-10'		150 n. 73
HKM 45 lower edge 16		106 n. 41
HKM 46: 8-9	(176-MH)	40, 71
HKM 46: 8-12	(93-MH)	54
HKM 46: 18-21	(382-MH)	154 (table 5.6), 173
HKM 46: 22-23		155 (table 5.6)
HKM 47: 10		154 (table 5.6)
HKM 47: 16		27 n. 19
HKM 50: 8-10	(60-MH)	40-41
HKM 54: 8-17	(264-MH)	104
HKM 57: 6-7		139 n. 30

HKM 59: 4-7		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 60: 30-31		139 n. 30
HKM 63 obv. 23-24		38 n. 45
HKM 65: 11-12		152 (table 5.6)
HKM 66: 12		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 70: 5-7		174 n. 152
HKM 71: 4	(381-MH)	172-173
HKM 71: 26-28		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 84 left edge a: 3	(274-MH)	109
HKM 89: 10-11		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 89: 23-24		153 (table 5.6)
HKM 94: 5'-6'	(299-MH)	115

HT

HT I IV 23-25, 29-30	(111-NS)	58
----------------------	----------	----

StBoT

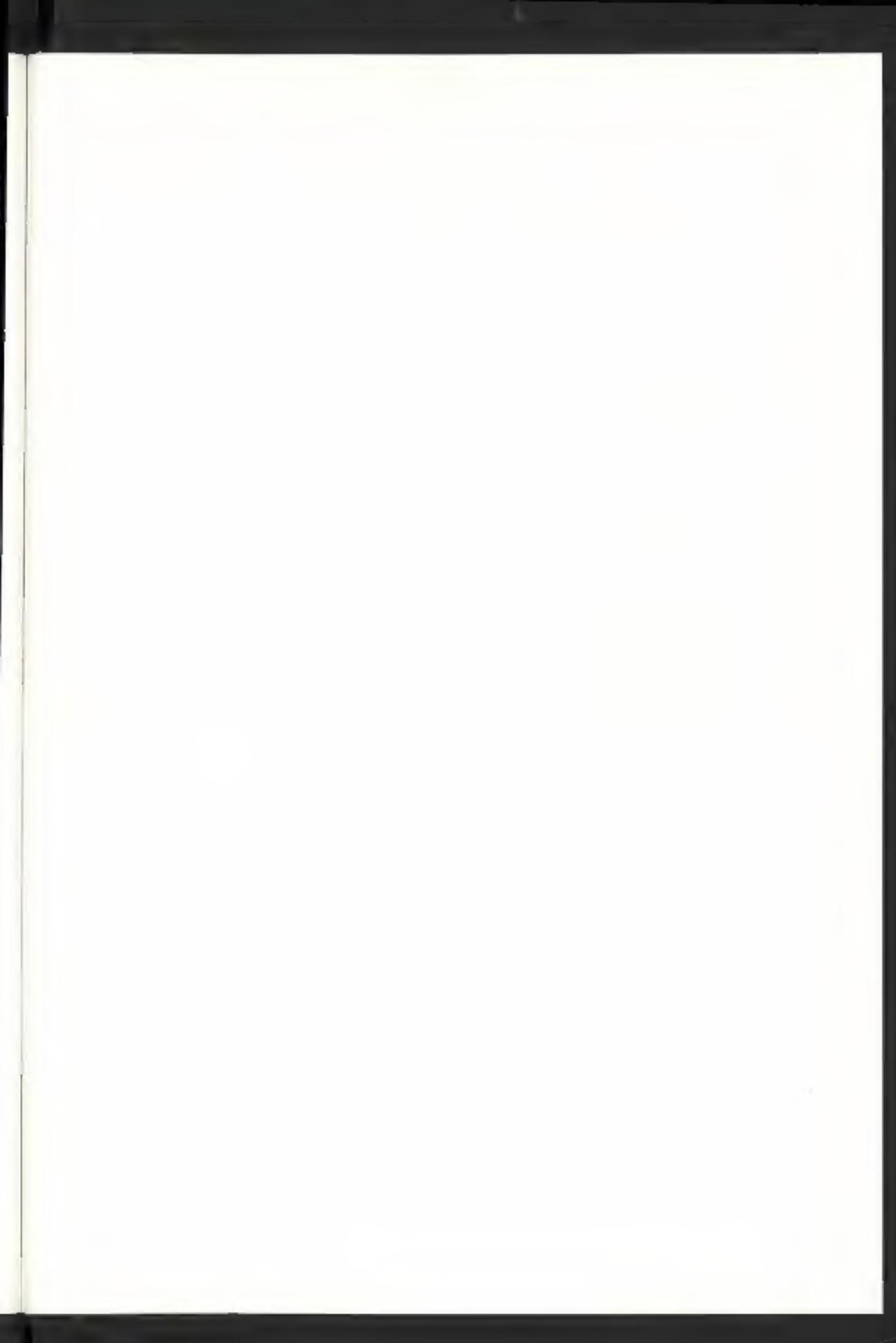
StBoT 24: I 66		154 (table 5.6)
StBoT 24: I 72		154 (table 5.6)
StBoT 24: I 75-76	(115-NH)	59
StBoT 24: II 26-27	(278-NH)	110
StBoT 24: II 48	(164-NH)	68
StBoT 24: II 49-51	(345-NH)	149
StBoT 24: II 53		154 (table 5.6)
StBoT 24: II 70-72	(350-NH)	149
StBoT 24: II 79-81	(12-NH), (34-NH)	25-26, 26 n. 13, 33
StBoT 24: III 7-8		153 (table 5.6)
StBoT 24: III 25-26, 29-30	(285-NH)	112
StBoT 24: IV 49		154 (table 5.6)
StBoT 24: IV 57-59	(272-NH)	108

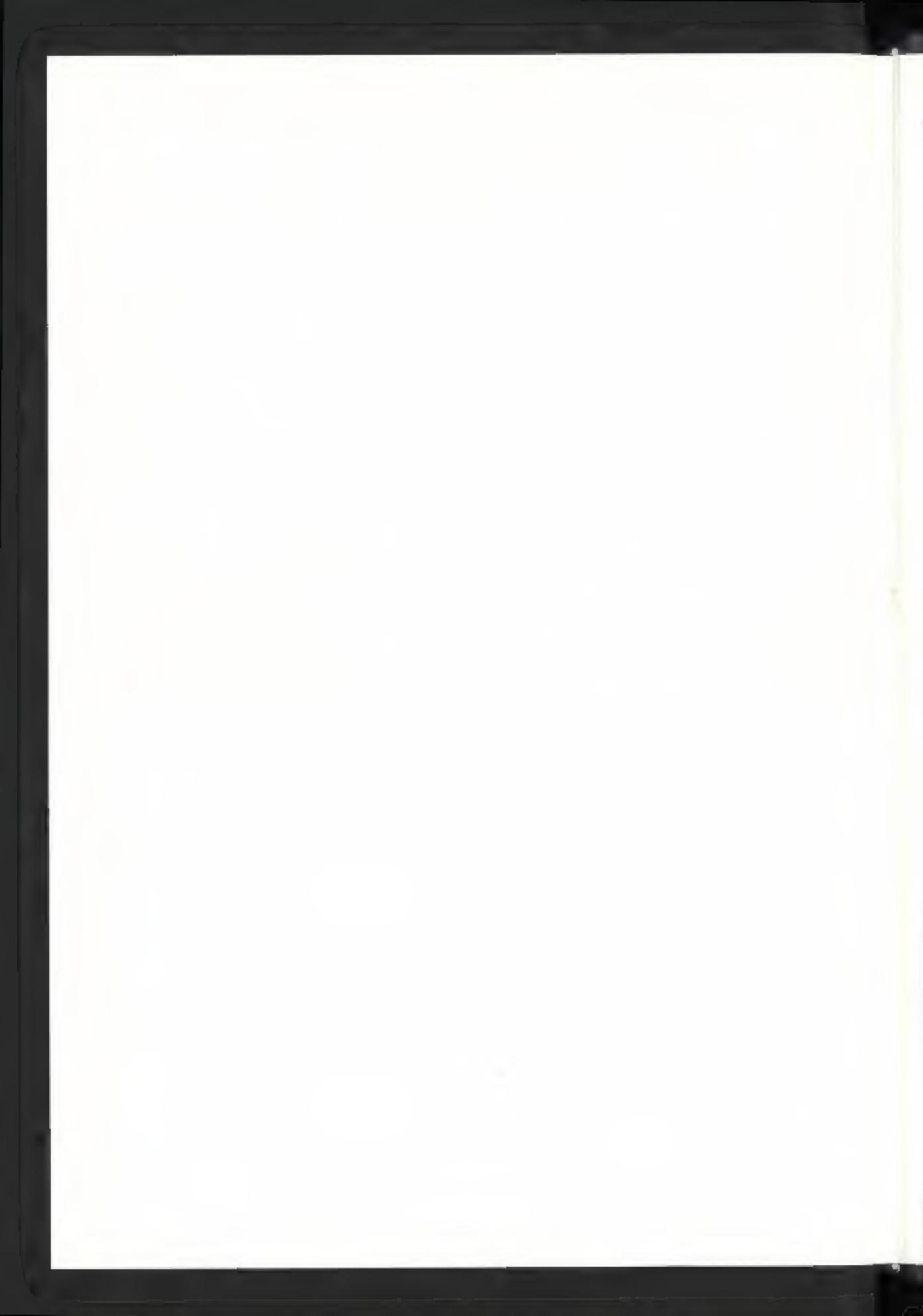
2Mašt.

2Mašt. III 3, 5-7	(79-MS)	■
-------------------	---------	---

Unp.

Bo 4951 rev. 6'-10'	(303-NS')	116-117
Bo 86/299 I 23		156 n. 106
Bo 86/299 II 15		100 n. 20
Bo 86/299 III 18-20	(360-lateNH)	151
Bo 86/299 III 54-55	(224-lateNH)	30
Bo 86/299 IV 25		11 n. 33
1203/u see KUB XXXI 86		
738/z obv. ■		62 n. 55
1087/z III 1"	(29-NS), (135-NS)	32, 63, 85





BOBST LIBRARY



3 1142 02831 5995



New York University
Bobst Library
70 Washington Square South
New York, NY 10012-1091

DUE DATE	DUE DATE	DUE DATE
* ALL LOAN ITEMS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL *		

100000

103890600000